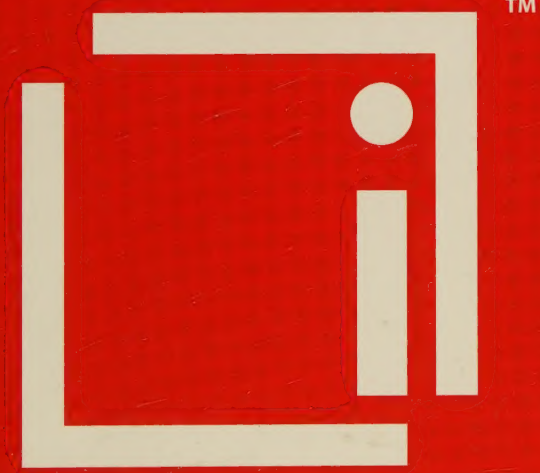
The Early History And Antiquities Of Freemasonry



George F. Fort

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RISTIANITY Longenecker Pg. 129 "IN Phil.
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THE

EARLY HISTORY

AND

ANTIQUITIES OF FREEMASONRY,

AS CONNECTED WITH ANCIENT NORSE GUILDS, AND THE ORIENTAL AND MEDIÆVAL BUILDING FRATERNITIES.

TO WHICH IS ADDED

THE LEGEND OF PRINCE EDWARD.

BY

GEORGE F. FORT.

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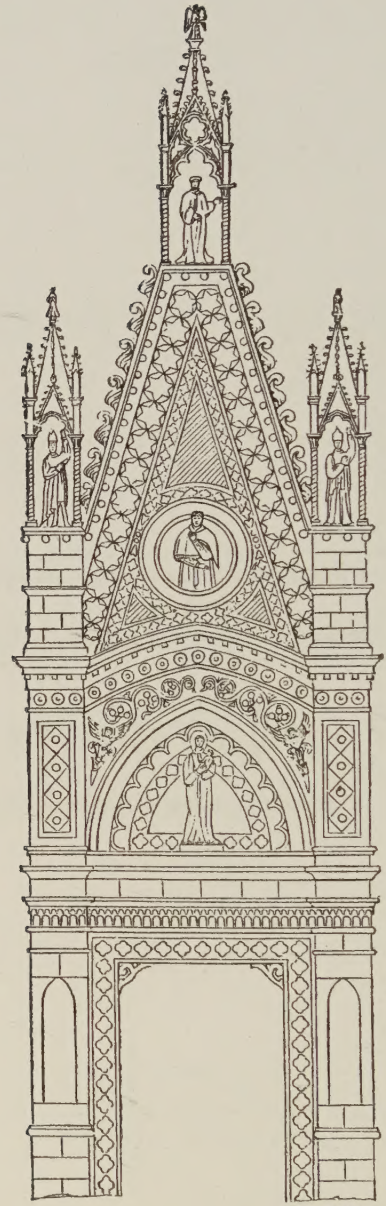

E. ROGERS, ENG.

ENTRANCE TO THE DUOMO OF FLORENCE.

PREFACE.

THE following work has been written to supply a want long felt by members of the Masonic fraternity, and also, it is believed, by uninitiates. Innumerable books have appeared from time to time, professedly histories of the Craft, which, on examination, prove to be a mere repetition of unreliable legends, whose only claim to attention is undoubted age. During the past century, an unfortunate spirit manifested itself among writers on the subject of Freemasonry, — without critical examination of authorities considered reliable, the sole purpose seems to have been to produce before the initiate and profane, propositions of an antiquity whose proofs were essentially silly and absurd. While Masonic authors have, in many instances, carefully collected material which added to a fairer and more correct appreciation of Lodge ritualism, its general scope and purpose, a too palpable reiteration of unsubstantial and flimsy traditions has at length impressed the minds of members and others that no other origin of the fraternity can be received than that which leads back to the Solomonian Temple at Jerusalem; and, indeed, until within a few years past, it was gravely asserted that Masonry had begun in the garden of Eden. As a consequence of such untimely deductions, a well-defined scepticism naturally sprung up, which, with every appearance of reason, doubted the remote antiquity of the Society, and, as an ultimate concession, maintained its mediæval creation.

The present work is the result of years of labor, whose original and persistent design has uniformly been to arrive at truth. Oftentimes the author has attempted to verify the quaint assertion of Masonic chronicles with undisputed historical evidence, and in no instance are traditions resting on unsubstantiated ground adduced as corroborative testimony of the line of research which, after careful examination of facts, he has adopted.

It may be added that mere legends or guildic tales do not appear in this book, unless produced in that portion of the treatise abandoned expressly to the traditional history of the Fraternity. Frequently, isolated parcels, embodied in gossiping manuscripts, have been raised to the dignity of specific mention on account of additional attestation furnished by unequivocal authorities. In a word, the constant and invariable tendency of the author in the ensuing pages is to bring the history and antiquities of the Craft down to an undisputed historical basis; and, in the pursuance of this object, he was frequently compelled to abandon the usual track followed by writers on this subject, and to rely upon authorities whose testimony — found noted in the margin — will be accepted without suspicion of intemperate or uncritical zeal. Finally, and upon this point the author desires to be particularly understood, this work aspires only to such reliability as is usually awarded to carefully prepared histories.

The immediate argument and scope of the treatise may be briefly stated as follows: To commence with a narrative of the state of fine arts at the decline of the Roman empire, and also of the propagation of architecture and its kindred sciences by bodies of builders, who developed into the Middle-Age Freemasons, whose history is carried down to the formal extinction of this society as an operative brotherhood, in the year 1717.

The author candidly avows that the First Part of the present work is purely an historical thread and preface to the subsequent or archæological portion, upon which especial care and research have been bestowed. For the purpose of aiding in its preparation, many of the principal libraries of Europe were visited by the writer, and important material otherwise obtained while sojourning abroad.

Among the several Appendices will be found a Contribution to the History of the Lost Word, together with other valuable documentary evidence, which is added to make the same more accessible to the public and fraternity at large.

The author entertains a hope that his work will find its way into the hands of those who are not members of the Fraternity, and begs leave to say emphatically that the treatise has not been prepared exclusively for Freemasons.

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THE EARLY HISTORY OF FREEMASONRY.

THE EARLY HISTORY

AND

ANTIQUITIES OF FREEMASONRY.

CHAPTER I.

STATE OF FINE ARTS IN EUROPE FROM THE FALL OF ROME TO CONSTANTINE THE GREAT — ARCHITECTURE REVIVED IN THE WEST UNDER THEODERICH THE GOTH — BYZANTINE BUILDERS IN EUROPE — THEY FOLLOW THEIR OWN LAWS, AND ARE ALLOWED ESPECIAL FRANCHISES.

UNDER the later Roman emperors, fine arts gradually declined. Notwithstanding Marcus Aurelius, by government patronage and personal example,[1] endeavored to stimulate architectural art into a healthy activity, his efforts were futile. The few remnants of this and succeeding periods, which have survived the destructive energy of time and barbaric warfare, evince the rapid decay of an accurate science, and, what is equally perceptible, a decided transformation of that characteristic of architecture which was transplanted by Grecian artists to

[1] Operam praetera pingendo sub magistro Diogneto dedit. *Julius Capitolinus, In vita M. Antonini Philos,* c. iv. In order to restrain the vicious tendencies of a deteriorating taste, this distinguished ruler applied himself diligently to theatrical and philosophical studies, and in the pursuance of his purpose for the social elevation of his subjects, frequently appeared as an actor on the stage.

Rome. Under Diocletian we may detect the introduction of the perpendicular principle as opposed to the horizontal of the ancient Greeks.[1] Here is the clearly defined transition to a style which prevailed during the Middle Ages, and the aspiring columns, surmounted by arches of this era, subsequently reached, in Gothic structures, to the full development of the perpendicular idea. Although the early Christians made no amends for the destruction of antique monuments,[2] during the reign of Constantine the Great a temporary zeal was manifested, by reason of his profession of the Christian religion. The Christians received at his hands a number of pagan temples, which, being suitably altered, were used by them for their religious ceremonies. In the construction of churches, or basilika, the remains of earlier works were used,[3] and arranged in an uncouth, tasteless manner.[4] Not only is this total disregard of sound principles of art perceptible in the architecture of the age, but is more strongly evinced in the freedom of enthusiastic Christian artists, who, in order to display their servile subserviency to the will of a powerful monarch, by a simple substitution of a head, attributes or inscription, transformed, without scruple, a Jupiter into a God the Father and a Venus into a Virgin.[5]

[1] Stieglitz, *Geschichte der Baukunst vom frühsten Alterthume bis in die neueren Zeiten*, p. 411.

[2] Hope, *Historical Essay on Architecture*, Vol. I., p. 161.

[3] Luebke, *Vorschule zum Studium der kirchlichen Kunst*, pp. 4–6, says the Christian architects modelled the first churches of the new religion so closely after the basilika, or ancient halls of judicature, that this characteristic thus originally impressed upon these sacred edifices was perpetuated for many centuries.

[4] Die Form früherer Werke nachgeahmt, aus Zeiten, in denen die Kunst noch nicht ganz herab gesunken aber in einer rohen, geschmacklosen Zusammen-setzung. Stieglitz, *Geschichte der Baukunst*, p. 414.

[5] Pour servir les volontés du puissant empereur, des artistes se trouvèrent, qui par de simples substitutions de têtes, d'attribut ou d'inscription, faisaient sans scrupule d'un Jupiter un Dieu le pêre, et une Vierge d'une Venus. Lacroix, *Les Arts au Moyen Age*, p. 352. How largely this principle of pagan-

Previous to the adoption of that Christian symbolism, which began to be introduced into the rites of the new religion about the period of the translation of the imperial residence from Rome to Byzantium, nearly all works of art were slavish imitations, by careless and incompetent artists, of the remains of a classical antiquity.[1] The gradual increase of elaboration and luxury of art finally, under the Byzantines, at this period, ended in a lamentable poverty of taste. From the third century to the time of Constantine, the coins of the empire exhibit a constant tendency to contract the busts of the emperors, in order to bring more prominently forward the adventitious surroundings. To such an extent was this carried, that these effigies suddenly ceased to show any relief — the outlines also became meagre and singularly incorrect. The entire representation is dull and without character, and so unskilfully drawn that the figures of different persons thus moulded are alone distinguishable by means of the inscriptions. At this time the lifeless style which characterizes the Byzantine coins and plastic art had become permanent. The elements of art had ceased to exist.[2]

The Emperor Constantine, in transferring the capital of the empire to Byzantium, or, as it was subsequently denominated, Constantinople, endeavored, however, to preserve the glorious traditions of ancient Rome. As a concession to such of his subjects who still revered the religion of antiquity, and persisted in burning incense upon the rapidly diminishing altars of their gods, he erected temples closely imitated after those of the aban-

ization, or substitution of pagan forms and ceremonies, by Christianity, entered into the organization of the early church, will be adverted to in the progress of this work.

[1] Avant que l'art eût adopté ou plutôt créé le symbolisme chrétien, force lui devoit être d'emprunter, etc. Lacroix, *Ibid.*, p. 353.

[2] Die Elemente der Kunst gehn auf merkwurdig schnelle Weise verloren. O. Mueller, *Archæologie der Kunst*, p. 242. See also Hope, *Essay on Architecture*, Vol. I., p. 161.

doned city, and decorated them with elegant pilasters appropriated from ancient edifices. He built for the professors of the new faith houses of worship in conformity with their present requirements, and embellished them with the symbolic appliances essential for the performance of the Christian rites.[1] In the newly-constructed forum at Constantinople, he caused a metal statue of the Good Shepherd to be erected, and set up brazen images of a Hart in other places. Both the Good Shepherd and Hart are among the most ancient of Christian symbols; the first named referred to Christ, the latter signified the intense thirst of Christians for divine presence.

The early Christian world, at its inception, seemed but little disposed to perpetuate the use of plastic art in order to preserve a record of noteworthy events,[2] and for long, excepting in some of the provinces of the Roman empire and at Byzantium, it was suffered to languish into a temporary obscurity. Wherever this art was used, even by the Byzantine artists, more attention seems to have been bestowed upon drawing, with greater or less accuracy, minute distinctions of rank, through position and insignia, than upon the representation of character and individuality. In the preparation of tablets, whether for sacred use or otherwise, from precious metal, or in the incisions upon engraved gems, although great dexterity is visible, the absence of that refined taste and elevated style, which belong to ancient Greece and earlier Rome, is manifestly

[1] Symbols adapted by Pagan converts to the Christian religion were largely borrowed from the symbolic paraphernalia of their ancestors. Although the Jewish proselytes rejected with devout horror all imagery which represented the Trinity, the rapidly increasing neophytes directly withdrawn from the worship of paganism, demanded and gained such concessions from the evangelists. Hope, *On Architecture*, Vol. I., chap. xvi.; Stieglitz, *Geschichte der Baukunst*, p. 416; also Poole, *Ecclesiastical Architecture*, p. 170.

[2] Den Verfall der Kunst zeigen auch die Consecrations-Muenzen (unter Gallien) so wie bei öffentlichen spielen ausgetheilten Contormaten. Mueller, *Archœologie der Kunst*, pp. 242–3; Hope, *Ibid.*, p. 161.

evident. One of the principal branches of plastic art, which was pursued at Byzantium more assiduously, perhaps, than architecture, was the production of ivory memorandum plates, designated as diptychs. Upon these much labor and skill were bestowed. This kind of handiwork was the peculiar property of the last days of declining[1] Rome; an art which was followed with zeal under the first Christian emperors, and attained its highest perfection during the Middle Ages.[2] Particular attention was given by the artists of Byzantium to the engraving of cameos from red jasper, many of which present a variety of Christian objects.[3]

The increased activity which the building of a new city, involving the plans and construction of a metropolis for the recently-professed religion of Rome, necessarily produced, caused a great influx of artists into Constantinople, both from the outlying provinces of the empire and from Rome itself, and with great probability from Greece.[4] Here, under Constantine the Great, were assembled the most skilled artists, attracted by the inducements of regu-

[1] Mueller, *Archæologie der Kunst*, p. 243.

[2] The museums of Europe are rich in collections of Byzantine diptychs and cameos. According to Codex XI., c. ii., of the Emperor Leo, there were certain works of art which only the royal artists, *Palatium artifices*, were allowed to prepare. A steady demand, both by aristocratic Romans and luxurious rulers, for elaborately cut gems, caused the vitality of this branch of plastic art to be perpetuated. Heliogabalus was so much enraptured with the cameo etchings of certain distinguished artificers, that he wore them on his feet. Aeli Lampridius, *Antonin. Heliogabal.*, c. xxiii. When Aurelius entered the Temple of the Sun, after the capture of Zenobia, in order to perform the sacred rites, he wore garments of beautiful purple, fastened with elaborately-wrought jewels. *Tunc illae vestes quas in templo Solis videmus, confertae gemmis — genuo purpurae.* Flavius Vopisc., *Vita Div. Aurelian.*, c. xxviii. See Mongez, Plate 68, etc.

[3] The cabinet of antiquities at Vienna, according to Mueller, *in loco, ut supra*, possesses a rare collection of gems of the period of Constantine, or later.

[4] Hope, *On Architecture*, Vol. I., chap. xii.

lar, unvarying labor, and the assurances of satisfactory compensation. From this time until the full development of the Romish church, Rome ceased to be the central point of interest, and, consequently, seriously suffered in material advantage as well as in architectural art. The Byzantine remains of this age, or of such portions at least as have escaped the wasting effects of a destructive zeal and the action of time, indicate a change in the character and details of architecture. Under Diocletian, the artists strove to rival and transcend earlier architects in the multiplicity of ornamentation, and by this means the *form* was sacrificed to tasteless artifice.[1] Each artist arrogated the liberty to alter and substitute according as his caprice dictated, and made use of all adventitious appliances to create novelty in order to captivate a vitiated taste. Whatever may have been the tendency to overloading edifices, during this period, with a superabundance of elegance, under Constantine the architects fell into the error of totally ignoring all ornamentation. A style of architecture was suddenly introduced which contemplated the barest outlines of art and complete simplicity. Cornices and chapters were divested of embellishment, and, in consequence, the entire structure presented an appearance of repulsive poverty and dryest details.[2] By this indifference to even a moderate finish, a loss of readiness in technical minuteness was superinduced. In order to remedy this glaring defect, Rome and the provinces were robbed of their columns and other works of art, that these might be used in the construction of new buildings at Byzantium.[3] In this

[1] Stieglitz, *Geschichte der Baukunst*, p. 417. [2] Stieglitz, *Ibid.*

[3] *Ibid.*, Constantin führt Bilder von Rom.,Griechenland, besonders aus Kleinasien nach Byzanz. Mueller, *Archæologie der Kunst*, p. 255. The policy adopted by this emperor denuded the other cities of the empire of their most valued objects of art. On the plazza of St. Sophia, in Constantinople, before the time of Justinian, four hundred and twenty-seven statues, the handicraft of much older artists, were erected. Mueller, *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*

way edifices thus constructed and finished exhibited the most anomalous character. Frequently, elegantly-wrought pilasters, brought from Greece or Asia Minor, were placed by the side of other columns of unequal length and dimensions; and dissimilar parts of buildings, thus appropriated, were conjoined without taste. These detached parcels, thus combined with the productions of native artists, afforded most glaring evidence of the degeneracy of art.

We have seen that, under Constantine the Great, an elevated taste in the erection of public and other edifices no longer prevailed. The same statement is equally true of sculpture as a plastic art and of painting. In the age succeeding this century, no perceptible alteration occurred in the relative condition of architecture. Other causes hindered a full expansion of true elegance, and checked the limited advance of artistic knowledge. The want of workmen who could comprehend and adapt the principles of genuine art began to be sadly felt. Unacquainted with natural rules, the artisan of the period was content with his labor if he were successful in satisfying the demands of a nationality fast decaying. Unimpressed with the grand relics of pagan antiquity, he wrought out the feeble results of an imagination taken captive by the increasing strength of a new religion, and struggled to mould the constantly arising sacred structures upon the will and direction of a religious sect, whose jubilant enthusiasm urged them to deviate from all standard models of temple architecture.[1]

Such, then, was the situation of art knowledge during the ages of Constantine and his successors until the fifth

[1] At this epoch, which most jeopardized the fine arts, a species of temple iconoclasm was inaugurated by the indiscreet zeal of the new converts to Christianity, and suffered to continue without restraint from the Roman authorities. But of all the houses of ancient religious culture, those which had contained the rites of Mithras and other licentious ceremonials were especially objects of zealous wrath. See Mueller, *Archæologie der Kunst*, p. 255, § 2.

century, when Theoderich, who had been educated at Constantinople, ascended the throne of the Western empire. Whatever remained of art, in the meantime, was undoubtedly Byzantine, and the professors of the same, whether at Constantinople or dispersed throughout the provinces, were also of that nationality. The efforts of Theoderich to repair the ruins of Rome and other cities in Italy, caused by the inroads of the Northern nations, in a measure contributed to preserve a general knowledge of the principles of the fine arts. The emperor, in rebuilding the several Italian cities, seems to have been influenced by the best interests of his *Roman* subjects;[1] because, by the Goths, according to Procopius,[2] it was considered debasing to receive instruction in science which tended to enervate and depress the mind — that he who trembled with fear before the master's birch would never look with an undaunted eye upon a sword or spear. Theoderich's exertions, apparently, were mainly directed to repairing or replacing older edifices, under the direction of Boethius, Symmachus, and Cassiodorus, the three leading spirits at his court. In all these efforts, the pure principles of art were wanting:[3] they had vanished. According to Stieglitz,[4] the architecture of the Goths, who, at this

[1] Was Theoderich für die öffentlichen Unterrichtsanstalten wirkte, die er bereits errichtet fand, erhielt er nur zum Besten seiner Römischen Unterthanen. Stieglitz, *ubi supra*, p. 424; Hope, *On Architecture*, Vol. I., chap. xii. This monarch appointed a superintendent of public buildings, *Comes nitium*. Am. Marcellinus, Lib. XXI., c. vi., and paid an architect for the preservation of works of art. Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, Vol. IV., pp. 24–5. With the exception of Charlemagne, no historical personage impressed his individuality so deeply upon the romantic mind of the Middle Ages. In mediæval tales and heroic poems he is called Dietrich of Bern. For a detailed account of the widely-extended renown of this Gothic ruler, see Ludlow's *Popular Epics of the Middle Ages*, Vol. I., chap. vii.

[2] *De Bello Gothicorum*, Lib. I., p. 4. Also Dr. Robertson's *Historical Essay on the State of Europe*, in Life of Charles V., Vol. I., p. 163.

[3] Stieglitz, *Geschichte der Baukunst*, p. 424.

[4] So wenig wie die Gothen, hatten sie (die Longobarden) eine eigene Bau-

period, were possessed of Italy, is the Graeco-Roman, which was chiefly introduced and perfected by the Byzantines. Semi-circular arches are numerous, but the work lacks execution and finish of detail. Luebke says,[1] the old Christian basilika preserved an existence from the time of Constantine till the eleventh century, as well in Italy as the remaining provinces of the West, which received from Rome its religion, its priests, and modifications of its church architecture. But the leading characteristics of architectural art of this period are such as were contributed by eastern artists.

The Lombards, or primitive Longobards, who succeeded to the Gothic empire, were possessed of building lore in so limited a degree, that all public edifices erected in their domains were executed by workmen from Constantinople.[2] During the continuance of their power in Northern Italy, numerous structures were founded;[3] among others, a church dedicated to Saint John the Baptist, near Milan, where the celebrated iron crown was preserved. All these were the handiwork of Byzantine artists.

When the seat of the empire, in the year 328, was changed, Rome had lost its greatness. The imperial family, who alone were able to nurture the arts and sciences, made Constantinople the metropolis, and resided there. In addition to this, the frequent irruptions of a barbarous people materially added to the destruction of the finest works of antiquity. It was alone in the Orient, especially at Byzantium, where a total loss of art was stayed. Hither gravitated artists who, robbed of their profession in Rome,

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kunst, so wenig jene ebenfalls nur kriegerischen Unternehmung in sich widmend, hatten sie Sinn für die Kunst. Zu allen Bauen die in ihren Besitzungen angelegt wurden, *bedienten sie sich Byzantinischer Künstler. Ibid.*, p. 425.

[1] *Vorschule zum Studium der kirchlichen Kunst*, p. 9.

[2] Consult, however, Tiraboschi, *Storia della Letteratura Italiana*, Tomo III., cap. vi.

[3] Stieglitz, *Geschichte der Baukunst*, p. 426.

by reason of translating the capital to Greece, so much the more readily sought the new city as they were nearly all Grecian by nativity,[1] in order to consecrate their talents to the land of their birth. Thus it happened that the capital of the Eastern empire became the place where everything tending to a preservation and appreciation of art and science was united. Here such knowledge was cultivated as the political disasters in other countries would not permit; and, again, light from the East was destined to flash forth to distant lands. Constantinople became an emporium of master architects, painters, and other skilled artificers.[2] Italy, whose deplorable condition required it, was the first country whither the artists from the Byzantine empire travelled. Theoderich, king of the Goths, who had liberated Rome and the surrounding territory from the oppressions of an uncivilized people, invited there numerous artists of various kinds to assist him in executing the work of repair and restoration which he contemplated.[3] Under his protection, architects, painters, and sculptors re-established themselves in Italy, and particularly artists skilled in mosaic work, which seems to have been the invention of the Greeks, since it was for long designated as *opus Græcanicium.*[4]

Notwithstanding the earliest sentiment of the Christian

[1] Hope, *On Architecture*, cap. xii. As is well known, upon the extinction of Hellenic nationality, skilled artists from Greece sought Rome as the metropolis for the display of their talents; when the capital of the empire was translated to Byzantium, the gravitation of accomplished artificers toward the new city naturally began. See *infra*, p. 344, for additional information on this subject.

[2] Hierhin (Byzantium) flüchteten sich die Künstler, die in Rom aller Beschäftigung beraubt, um so die lieber Griechenland aufsuchten, etc. Stieglitz, *ubi supra*, p. 432.

[3] Berington, *Literary Hist. of the Middle Ages*, p. 111.

[4] Ihm folgeten dabei Künstler, mancherlei art . . . . Baukünstler, Maler, Bildner, etc. Auch die Mosaik wurde von Griechen betrieben und war vielleicht ihre Erfindung, da sie den Namen *opus Græcanicium* erhielt. Stieglitz, *Ibid.*, p. 433; Mueller, *Archæologie der Kunst*, p. 256; Hope, *On Architecture*, pp. 164–8; Tiraboschi, *Storia della Letteratura Italiana*, Tomo II., p. 343.

church, and particularly in the East, was opposed to the introduction of images in religious service, it continued to be tolerated until the iconoclastic spirit suddenly arose in the eighth century.[1] In the meantime, a decided tendency to the adoption of symbolic representations of sacred objects began to manifest itself.[2] As far back as the time of Constantine, as has been previously remarked, Christ himself was symbolically presented to His devout followers in the metal statue of the Good Shepherd. He was sometimes represented as a lamb, a thirsting Hart, or as a dove, and by the olive branch. But the most noteworthy of all emblems, perhaps, which disguised the secret significance alone to the unbelieving Pagans, was in the fish-shaped outlines.[3] This symbol is of especial importance to the subject under consideration, on account of this figure having been extensively used during the Middle Ages as a mark by builders. According to Stieglitz,[4] the sculptured or mosaic delineations of the Christian symbols in church edifices were very early designed to refer to certain abstract biblical signification. For instance, the lamb represented the Lamb of God, that bore the sins of the world. He also frequently appeared holding a cross, or was delineated simply by a monogram.[5] Sometimes our Saviour appeared surrounded by twelve lambs, the twelve disciples, who stand six on a side. The lion, symbolical of the power of Christ,—the lion of the tribe of Judah, David's offspring, is also frequently visible; the pelican feeding her young,

[1] Baumgarten-Crusius, *Dogmengeschichte*, p. 384.

[2] O. Mueller, *Archæologie der Kunst*, p. 213, § 2. This distinguished archæologist, in the learned repository cited, has furnished numerous examples of the gradual introduction of symbols, by the earlier Christians, into their ritual and architecture, to some of which reference will hereafter be made.

[3] Abbreviated thus: ΙΧΘΥΣ, from Ιησυ Χριστος Θεου Υιος Σωτηρ, which, contracted to the above word, signifies a fish. Vide, *en passant*, Didron, *Christian Iconography*, p. 108. Upon the subject of builders' marks of this and later ages, fully treated in Part II. of this work, see *infra*, p. 323, *et seq.*

[4] *Geschichte der Baukunst*, p. 446. [5] Didron, *op. cit.*, pp. 55, 325.

symbolizing the atonement through the Saviour's death; and the phœnix arising from her ashes, as a portraiture of the resurrected Christ. In like manner, the vine refers to Him, who is saying to His disciples: I am the vine and ye are the branches. The fruit of the vine is emblematical of the blood of Christ. The cock[1] is a symbol of watchfulness; the hart that panteth after the flowing stream, is the desire of the Christian after the Saviour; and the dove, in addition to its significance of the Holy Ghost, is also a type of virtue and innocence.[2] I mention these symbolic references, which thus early became incorporated with church architecture, on account of the frequent recurrence of the same, or of others of identical signification, in the cathedrals of Europe, which may serve, with tolerable accuracy, to trace the origin and gradual development of this interesting subject in the hands of the Freemasons of the Middle Ages. Such sculptured representations are to be found in different portions of sacred edifices, but most frequently in the principal entrance to Byzantine churches.[3] As access to these structures was obtained through a main entrance, it was invested, in that early age, with mystical importance. Christ says, in one of the Evangelists:[4] "Verily, I say unto you, he that entereth into the sheepfold by any other way than the door," etc., and, further: "Verily, verily, I say unto you, I am the door of the sheep." This seized the imagination of the Byzantine artists, and induced them to represent Christ as the mystic portal.

[1] It is more than a curious coincidence that the symbol of the cock, as stated in the text, had also a singular representation under the hands of the Norman craftsmen. See Poole, *Ecclesiastical Architecture*, p. 184. The French Freemasons, at the close of the last century, adopted this as an emblem of vigilance, and was, among other symbols, delineated upon the side-walls of the Chamber of Reflexion, in the First or E. A. Degree. *Le Regulateur du Maçon*, p. 13, A. D. 1801.

[2] Stieglitz, *Baukunst*, pp. 447–8; Mueller, *Archæologie der Kunst*, p. 253; Hope, *On Architecture*, pp. 180–3. Abundant evidence in Didron, *ubi supra*, p. 451, *et seq.*

[3] Stieglitz, *Geschichte der Baukunst*, p. 444. [4] Acts of the Apostles, etc.

Everything, consequently, is directly pointed to our Saviour. The holy mother of God, the evangelists, and martyrs are at His side. And, as the apostles are frequently regarded as the pillars of the church, so the columns on each side of the doorway refer to them, although oftentimes the columns which flanked the entrance to King Solomon's Temple are substituted.[1] Externally, these edifices present a singular appearance, but harmonize with the symbolic nature of the jealously-guarded portals. Every variety of animals, real or legendary, is sculptured upon the outer walls. These are grouped in attitudes of deadly conflict, some of which yield to matchless strength, and are being devoured by the vanquishing combatant. Such grotesque and strangely-weird figures signify the constant and unflinching vigilance demanded to guard the approaches to the sanctuary. The war-waging monsters shadow forth the protecting or antagonistic, and the inimical forces which the Church triumphant commands, and leads forth as a militant body. So far as the interior of Byzantine churches is concerned, the same mystical or emblematic signification prevails, excepting, however, that the sanctuary is entirely free from all appearances of conflict; here all is peace,— Christ, the all-powerful, is here in all the majesty of His divine character, and establishes the Church triumphant over every adversary. These were the symbols and the mystic appliances[2] which the Oriental artificers contributed to the art-knowledge of the west of Europe, when they were called to aid in rebuilding and constructing the sacred buildings of Northern Italy.

[1] Stieglitz, *Ibid.*, p. 448. This custom of the mediæval builders demands and will receive further consideration. Vide Fallou, *Mysterien der Freimaurer*, p. 216; also, Luebke, *Geschichte der Architectur*, p. 253.

[2] Luebke, *Geschichte der Architectur*, p. 312; Poole, *Ecclesiastical Architecture*, p. 207; Schauberg, *Symbolik der Freimaurerei*, Theil I., 24; may be consulted with advantage upon this subject and in this connection. How largely symbolism entered into mediæval cathedrals, see Luebke, *Geschichte der Plastik*, pp. 272, 297, 325.

Byzantine architecture and the plastic arts retained their several distinguishing features, as described, down to the eighth century. From Constantinople, therefore, as the centre of mechanical skill, radiated to distant countries a knowledge of art. The devastations to which Britain and Spain had been subjected, rendered it necessary that competent workmen should be secured to rebuild cities whose smouldering ruins marked the pathway of destroying nations. The capital of the Byzantine empire furnished artisans for this purpose. Mueller[1] asserts that there were at this epoch corporations of builders in Europe of Grecian birth, who maintained an uninterrupted intercourse with their native land. What may have been the precise character of these organizations[2] is uncertain, but it can be fairly presumed, I think, that outside of the limits of the Byzantine empire they were permitted to live and exercise a judicial government among themselves, according to the laws of the country to which they owed allegiance. This principle, or doctrine, of personal right to declare under what law a citizen would elect to live, was publicly recognized in all the legal codes of Europe from the fall of Rome until late in the thirteenth century.[3] This was de-

[1] Dieser für neue Zwecke neu belebte (Vorgothische Byzantinische) Architecturstyl, welcher sich immer noch fast in allen einzelnen Formen an den Spätrömischen anschlieszt, herrscht in der ersten Hälfte des Mittelalters, durch die aus dem Römischen Alterthum fortbestehenden, auch wohl mit Griechenland fortwährend zusammen-hängenden Baucorporationen gepflegt und ausgebildet im ganzen Christlichen Europe. *Archæologie der Kunst*, p. 224.

[2] Vide *infra*, Book II., p. 343, *et seq.*

[3] Savigny, *Geschichte des Römischen Rechts*, Theil I., cap. iii, § 41: Die Mannichfaltigkeit der zugleich geltenden personlichen Rechte in keinem Lande gröszer gewesen ist als in Italien. This privilege, as will be seen from the reference quoted, applied with especial force to Italy. Each individual declared his profession of law in a formal manner, thus: *Legibus vivens Langobardorum;* or, according to the more usual formula, as prescribed to be acknowledged before a notary: *Qui professus sum legibus Langobardorum.* Upon the marriage of a Longobardic woman to a Salic husband, the annexed profession was made: *Qui professa sum ego ipsa Ferlinda ex natione mea legem vivere Langobardorum, sed nunc pro ipso viro meo legem vivere videor Salicam.*

nominated his *profession of law.* Savigny cites[1] numerous instances where individuals declared their profession of the Roman law, of the Salic, or the *leges Alamanorum or Langobardorum.* Therefore, the corporations of artists, in retaining their connection with Byzantium, no doubt carried with them such privileges of Grecian citizenship, and the usages and privileges incident to their corporate existence at home, and, when in Italy or other foreign lands, lived and governed themselves in accordance with the well-established principles of Roman law; one of which privileges was, at the time such associations of builders were introduced into Southern Europe, during the reigns of Theoderich and Theodosius, the undoubted right of a corporate recognition.[2] Consequently, wherever their labor was demanded throughout Europe, they were recognized as a distinct and privileged class of workmen, who, differing from the less skilled artists of other countries, necessarily formed a separate society apart from that in which they temporarily resided. This system possessed many advantages. It presented a complete organization, whose members in foreign lands were associated by mutual interest, and whose delinquencies could be promptly corrected without recourse being had to strange judicial interference. That there were master architects among these Byzantine workmen, who drafted the plans and directed their execution, is beyond doubt, because at the construction of the church of Saint Sophia, in Constantinople, under the Emperor Justinian, Anthemius and Isidorus are mentioned as superintending the artificers on the building.

Another, *Landulfus et Petrus clericus germani . . . . qui professi sumus ex natione nostra legem vivere Langobardorum, sed ego Petrus clericus per clericalem honorem lege videor vivere Romana.* See Muratori, *Antiq.*, Tome I., pp. 345, 387. Roger the Norman, after the conquest of Sicily, in the eleventh century, permitted the Greeks and Sicilians to use the Justinian Code, and the Lombards and Saracens to live in accordance with their respective laws. Bazancourt, *Histoire de La Sicilie sous la domination des Normands,* Tome II., pp. 78–9.

[1] *Geschichte des R. R.*, Theil I., p. 147.

[2] See Book II., p. 365, etc., for proofs of the above statement.

CHAPTER II.

SECRET SOCIETIES FORBIDDEN BY ROMAN EMPERORS — GUILDS IN ITALY AT AN EARLY AGE — PAPAL INDULGENCES TO BUILDING CORPORATIONS — MASTERS OF COMO IN THE SEVENTH CENTURY.

WHEN it is considered with what jealous surveillance the rapidly declining governments of the Eastern and Western empires watched every change in internal polity, it can scarcely be inferred that what was strictly forbidden under Trajan would be tolerated by the Byzantine emperors. I refer to the formation of *secret societies*, bound together by mutual obligations.[1] The extent of this opposition by the Roman empire to the establishing of oath-bound guilds is strikingly exhibited in a letter from Trajan to Pliny,[2] in which the emperor interdicted a fraternity of firemen, on the ground that they would hold meetings which might be used for political purposes. And the only exception of the Roman emperors to their uniform objection to such organizations, was made in favor of burial societies, or associations of men who subscribed certain sums of money to insure each member a decent burial in the ground which was the corporation property.[3] Late in the sixth century, societies, based simply upon nationality, appear to have existed in Italy. Savigny says,[4] at Ravenna, in the

[1] Lecky, *Hist. European Morals from Augustus to Charlemagne*, Vol. I., p. 438.

[2] Quodcunque nomen ex quacunque causa dederimus iis, qui in idem contracti fuerint, *hetœriæ, quamvis breves fient.* Plinii, *Epist.*, Lib. X., cap. xliii.

[3] "The Roman legislators, however unfavorable to the formation of guilds or associations, made an exception in the favor of burial societies," etc. Lecky, *History of Morals, etc.*, Vol. I., p. 482.

[4] In Rom die Germanischen Fremden als besondere Corporationen er-

year 572, a guild of Greeks was already organized, and at Rome, in 794, there existed a corporation of Angles (English), who were supported with royal munificence by King Offa. It would seem that these guilds were not always confined to regularly domiciled citizens, but were sometimes composed of strangers and travellers.[1] In the tenth century there was an association of Saxons in Rome, who lived in a particular quarter of the city set off to them. The *Tabelliones*, or notaries, in the seventh century, at Ravenna, and probably in other cities, had their own guild, with a regular corporate government;[2] and as late as the year 1200 the official oath prescribed them on their admission was still preserved.[3] There is a tradition, which Stieglitz has substantially given in his valuable treatise on Architecture,[4] that at the time the Lombards were in possession of Northern Italy, from the sixth to the seventh century, the Byzantine builders formed themselves into guilds and associations, and that on account of having received from the popes the privilege of living according to their own laws and ordinances,[5] they were called Freemasons. Of this latter assumption, nothing of a reliable nature remains to prove its authenticity. So far as the first actual contact of these guilds with the Eastern artisans is concerned, I am disposed to place it at a time coeval with the return of the Byzantine craftsmen to Italy, under the patronage

schienen; ganz eben so aber auch die Griechen, diese letze jedoch auch schon im Yahr 572 in Ravenna. *Geschichte des Romischen Rechts*, Theil I., p. 340.

[1] Optimates et senatus cunctaque militia . . . . simul etiam et cunctae Scholæ (guilds) peregrinorum, videlicet Francorum, Frisonum, Saxonum atque Langobardorum. *Annales Fuldenses*, anno 895, cited by Savigny, *Ibid.*, p. 341. Cibrario, *Frammenti Storici*, p. 212, says that towards the close of the ninth century there existed *sworn* associations for mutual protection in Italy: *guire o gilde armate a difendersi*. Perhaps at this period there were many oath-bound organizations.

[2] Savigny, *Geschichte d. R. R.*, Theil I., p. 350. [3] Ibid., *op. cit.*, p. 365.

[4] *Geschichte der Baukunst*, p. 425.

[5] Hope, *On Architecture*, Vol. I., p. 229; *Archæologia*, Vol. IX., p. 120.

of Theoderich, as early as the fifth century.[1] As heretofore stated, these corporations preserved a separate nationality wheresoever dispersed, and rigidly adhered to their own laws and regulations, such as they brought with them, as individual citizens of the Eastern empire.

We have endeavored to show that the right to profess the law of his land was the indisputable patrimony of a denizen residing abroad. In this manner these builders, who were Oriental subjects and from Byzantium, were freed from and independent of the laws and ordinances which affected the native Lombards or the half-civilized Goth. The popes, besides, at this period had not the unlimited power which they subsequently acquired, in order to render such a system effective.

In addition to this, as Stieglitz justly observes,[2] no bull exists which can at all satisfy the most credulous mind; for the library of the Vatican, in the year 1773, by order of the Pope, at the request of Goveneur Pownall, was subjected to the most vigilant search, and although the archives were thoroughly examined by the chief librarian, nothing of the kind could be found.[3] It is scarcely credible, as before suggested, that these organizations, whose members were bound together by solemn oaths, and sworn to keep sacred certain mystic secrets, could preserve their integrity as a body. No doubt such oaths were shortly introduced, when the conditions of social polity demanded it. But at the time the Byzantine corporators

[1] For fuller details touching upon the merging of these Byzantine corporations into the Germanic guilds, at or about the epoch above noted, see Part II. of this work, p. 374, etc.

[2] *Geschichte der Baukunst*, p. 426.

[3] *Archæologia*, Vol. IX., p. 123. The learned antiquarian, Ashmole, is accredited with having inaugurated the papal indulgence theory, which is given by many Masonic writers without judicious criticism, particularly Krause. *Kunsturkunden*, Theil II., ab. 2, p. 282, and Preston, *Illustrations of Masonry*, p. 133. I have examined the works of Ashmole, but failed to find proof of the above assumption.

arrived in the West, and for long after the process of assimilation with the Teutonic guilds had begun, the precaution of a sworn brotherhood was not essential to the preservation of their art, nor necessary to protect them from competitors. Throughout Western Europe the minds of men were vastly unsettled by the threatening omens presaging a dissolution of civil society. Outside of Italy, perhaps, the whole of Europe was dependent upon Eastern workmen for the limited degree of architectural refinement which met the wants of the Latin empire. There were no competitive artists, no native craftsmen, either in architecture or the plastic arts, to require an oath-bound society in order to constitute a closely organized trades' union; neither had that singular individualizing tendency, which subsequently permeated the entire civil society of the Middle Ages, so far developed as to impel the members of these corporations into a closer relationship. The details of art received from the Grecian builders were also possessed by many monastic institutions in Northern Italy, as the expression *Magistri Comacini*[1] *may* refer to monkish masters, who had no doubt gladly acquired from foreign artists a knowledge of mechanical science. Perhaps the most satisfactory interpretation of *Magistri Comacini*, is that upon some portion of the sloping shores of Lake Como the Eastern corporations had already merged with the Longobardic guilds, and by superior excellence in architectural acquirements had obtained the above appellation.[2] There can be no doubt, however, that a vast amount of architectural skill and knowledge of plastic arts was carried over into Europe about the opening of the ninth century, by monk artificers from

[1] Stieglitz, *Geschichte der Baukunst*, p. 416. For the original authority for this citation, see *Leges Langob. Lex*, 144–5, or *Leg. Rotharis*, ibid. in Tome I., Pars. 2, *Script. Rev. Ital.* Tiraboschi, *Storia della Letteratura Italiana*, Tomo III., p. 148, calls them simply *Muratori*, or Masons.

[2] This view is supported by Tiraboschi, *op. cit.* ut supra.

the Byzantine empire. That the builders' guilds or corporations were brought frequently into a close contact with the Western monks thus early in the construction of houses of religious worship, or making extensive repairs, is incontestable. It is fairly deducible, from the subsequent development of these artist corporations into the skilled mediæval Freemasons, that these bodies were more or less intimately united with the monastic institutions of the early and Middle Ages: and as the erection of sacred edifices was exclusively under the direction of the church, necessarily the architects were also under sacerdotal control. The monks or clerics, therefore, at an early age, might be instructed, or rather initiated in the sublime details of a strict science, and become a component part of such bodies.[1]

Whether the tradition[2] of the craft be true or otherwise, that papal indulgences called into existence in Lombardy these building associations, whose members travelled through Europe as builders, the legend will attest the long prevailing belief that, at that remote period, the art interests of those artificers and the church were identical, and as such they continued for many centuries.[3] And the symbolic reference still in use in lodges of Freemasons cannot be explained on other reasoning than that these artists united with the Germanic guilds, under ecclesiastical patronage, at that era, or subsequent thereto; because the well-defined Gothic or Teutonic elements, still in existence in lodge ritual, were, as we shall hereafter see, derived directly from such a condition of social life as presented itself in the north of Italy.

[1] Vide Hope, *On Architecture*, Vol. I., p. 233; also, Krause, *Kunsturkunden*, Th. I., ab. 2, p. 327; also, Ducange, *Gloss. Med. et Infimi Lat., sub voce Magister.*

[2] Stieglitz, *Geschichte der Baukunst*, p. 425.

[3] Wilda, *Das Gildenwesen im Mittelalter*, p. 34, has clearly demonstrated the fact that in the development of ancient guilds, the clergy were essentially the leaders, and that such associations at a very early age became a constituent element in the conventual system.

CHAPTER III.

ARCHITECTURE AND OTHER ARTS PATRONIZED BY CHARLEMAGNE — ESTABLISHES EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS IN HIS EMPIRE — ICONOCLASTIC WAR UNDER LEO, THE ISAURIAN, IN THE SEVENTH CENTURY — GREEK ARTISTS FLEE TO EUROPE AND RECEIVE PONTIFICAL PROTECTION — IMAGE WORSHIP MAINTAINED BY CHARLEMAGNE — BYZANTINE ART CORPORATIONS INVITED TO ITALY — SCHOLASTIC CULTURE AND THE SEVEN LIBERAL ARTS AND SCIENCES — MECHANICAL TRADES IN MONASTERIES — SAINT ELOI AND THE CRAFTSMEN — MOSAIC WORK — APPRENTICES AND MASTERS.

IN the year 774, the Lombard kingdom in Italy was extinguished by the irresistible power of Charles the Great,[1] and the territory over which their sway had extended for over two centuries became, in consequence, subjected to the rule of the victorious Franks.[2] Shortly after the extinction of the Lombardic power, Charlemagne devoted the most assiduous attention to a complete organization of the Christian church within his empire, in order to effect a radical extermination of the heathen religion, which the unexampled resistance of the Saxons for the preservation of their ancient customs proves to have had a vigorous existence.[3] For this purpose, he laid the foundation of a strict subordination among the clergy, and promoted the establishment of numerous monasteries and abbeys. In the pursuance of his plans to subjugate the martial spirit of his ecclesiastics, he rigidly interdicted

[1] Wirth, *Geschichte der Deutschen*, Theil I., p. 485.
[2] Machiavelli, *Istorie Fiorentine*, Tomo I., p. 232.
[3] Wirth, *Geschichte der Deutschen*, Theil I., p. 525.

them the exciting pursuits of war or the chase. The emperor contributed, by his own personal example, very largely to the internal development of the empire. Although in early life his literary accomplishments were of the most slender character, yet at a later period he acquired the Latin tongue so thoroughly as to speak it fluently. He had also learned to read Greek with ease.[1] In addition to his other attainments, he cultivated agricultural science and astronomy. The few monasteries which existed previous to the time of the Carlovingians, were places of the grossest ignorance.[2]

It was the great merit of the Emperor Charlemagne, that regularly organized schools, both of fine arts and sciences, were established in the cloisters, over which the most proficient abbots and monks were called to preside. A model cloister school was first founded in his empire, under the direction of a certain monk, named Hrabanus Maurus, at Fulda, in the year 804, and upon this the emperor bestowed the utmost attention. This educational institution was soon imitated by the convents of Saint Gall, Hirschau, Reichenau, Weiszenburg, Corvey, and others.[3] The attention given by Charlemagne to the development of agriculture, was imitated by the ecclesiastics, who, with axe and saw, boldly attacked the gloomy forests, and opened up to cultivation vast areas of timber lands.[4] Following in the wake of these improvements, came troops of builders, who were attached to the missionaries, and under their direction, and perhaps a component part of such monastic institutions as were to be erected, together with other edifices, upon the cleared ground.[5] Before the time of Charlemagne, houses were mostly constructed of wood, — stone and tile were rare. Inside, such buildings contained one spacious

[1] Eginhard, *in Vita Karl. Mag.*, cap. xxv.
[2] Scherr, *Deutsche Cultur*, p. 70.
[3] Scherr, *Ibid., loc. cit.*
[4] Scherr, *Ibid.*, p. 72; Wirth, *Geschichte der Deutschen*, Theil I., p. 534.
[5] Hope, *Essay on Architecture*, Vol. I., p. 233.

room, without partition walls. From the middle arose a single column, which furnished a support for the roof. Under Charlemagne, stone edifices began to be introduced. Not only the celebrated imperial palaces of the emperor at Aachen, Ingelheim, and elsewhere, but the residences of the nobility also were constructed of stone. In one of the emperor's dwellings there were three sleeping apartments, eleven work rooms, and two for storage of material.[1]

Towards the close of the seventh century, or about the commencement of the eighth, two events occurred of much importance for the examination of the subject under dissertation. The first of these, in its relative effect upon the translation of a style of art which subsequently became current in the west of Europe, was a decree promulgated by an ecclesiastical council held at Constantinople in the year 692, interdicting the use of allegorical or symbolical representations in the crucifixion of Christ and other sacred objects, and ordering a stricter adherence to historical statuary.[2] Although this decree was never rigidly enforced in Western Europe, it slightly modified an excess which had become ridiculous.[3] At the time of this decree, plastic and art compositions had become a kind of hieroglyphic, of which, in order to interpret correctly, it was necessary to know the secret. For instance, the four evangelists were represented by four running streams, which spread their revivifying influences throughout the universe;[4] the converted gentiles, symbolically delineated

[1] Scherr, *Deutsche Cultur*, p. 74.

[2] Le décret du Concile de Constantinople, appelé le Concile *Quinisexte* ou in *Trullo* et célébré en 692, qui ordonna de préférer la peinture historique aux emblèmes et notamment l'allégorie dans la réprésentation du crucifiement de Jésus Christ. Emeric David, *Histoire de la Peinture au Moyen Age*, p. 59. The original decree, of which David has given in the foregoing citation the substance, may be found in *Act. Concil.*, Tome III., Can. 82.

[3] L'usage de l'allégorie, d'abord nécessaire, ainsi que nous l'avons dit, pour voiler les mystères de la nouvelle religion, avait totalement égaré les esprits. David, *Histoire de la Peinture au Moyen Age*, p. 59.

[4] Didron, *Christian Iconography*, p. 67, Pl. 23.

as thirsting deer which rambled towards a living fountain,—or as a vine or a mountain; the faithful, as trees, plants, or as lambs. The second and most important event referred to above, was the proscription of religious images, pronounced by Leo the Isaurian in the year 726. The persecutions suffered by the Greek artists, in consequence of this edict, lasted for one hundred and twenty years.[1] This decree, which banished from the Eastern churches every description of statuary and painting without reserve, also threatened, with severest penalties, any artist who ventured to prepare an image of the saints, apostles, or of Christ. Opposed to the emperor and his armed legions, were the monks and the people of an humbler position.[2] In order to render the emperor's edict more effective, the church, in the year 754, confirmed his decree.[3]

The Popes at Rome, profoundly interested in the result of this contest, founded vast monasteries to receive the monk artists who fled from Greece, and employed them with the utmost zeal to continue the exercise of that style of art proscribed them in their native land.[4] Upon their arrival in Italy and in Southern Europe, they were quickly associated with the corporations of builders, who perhaps at this epoch had a permanent connection with the monastic institutions of the West; and as a steady and uninterrupted intercourse had been maintained by their predecessors with Byzantium, affiliations into established bodies of builders seem to have been readily granted.[5] Through these artist refugees, an increased knowledge of architectural and other arts was furnished their western *confréres*.

[1] David, *Histoire de la Peinture au Moyen Age, loc. cit.*

[2] Ihm gegenüber waren de Mönche und das niedere Volk. Görling, *Geschichte der Mahlerei*, Theil I., p. 89. The artisans, no doubt, were largely recruited from this class of persons.

[3] Görling, *Ibid., loc. cit.*

[4] Emeric David, *Histoire de la Peinture au Moyen Age*, p. 65.

[5] Hope, *Essay on Architecture*, Vol. I., p. 233.

The glorious reign of Charlemagne was not less useful to the maintenance of art and science. As we have already seen, in the midst of the barbarism of many of his subjects, he conceived the design of regenerating architectural art, the sciences, painting, and even music.[1] Whether Charles the Great was in a measure influenced to protect the arts in his empire on account of his connection with the Latin church, does not clearly appear; but the canons of the Council of Nice, urging the worship of images, were submitted by him to a council of bishops at Frankfort, and by his authority reënacted. In order that the characteristics of religious culture, such as were used up to the time of Leo the Iconoclast, might be perpetuated throughout the Western empire, he issued an edict that all the churches in his kingdom should be decorated with suitable imagery and statuary.[2] For this purpose envoys were despatched several times a year through the provinces to see that the emperor's orders were duly obeyed.[3] It seems to have been the policy of Charlemagne, so far as possible, to efface from the memory of his Saxon subjects, by means of an elaborate ornamentation of sacred structures, the attractions of their ancient altars.[4] The immense number of edifices which were erected and thus embellished under the fostering care of the emperor of the Franks, proves how rapidly his active spirit had organized the forces at his command for the work of architectural and plastic regeneration. The better to forward his schemes of material advancement, Byzantine workmen and other skilled builders were invited from Italy, and perhaps from Greece, to assist

[1] Au sein de la barbarie où se plaisaient ses vassaux, ce grand homme conçut la pensée de regénérer à la fois les sciences, les lettres, l'architecture, etc. David, *Histoire de la Peinture*, p. 66.

[2] Görling, *Geschichte der Mahlerei*, Theil I., p. 200.

[3] Volumus itaque ut missi nostri per singulos pagos praevideri studeant. Carlo. Mag., *De Imag.*, L. III., cap. cxvi.

[4] Ut honorem habeant *majorem* et *excellentiorem* quam fana idolorum. *Capital. de part. Sax*, an 789, c. 1; also, see Görling, *op. cit.*, p. 201.

in and direct the construction of temples and other religious buildings.[1] By this introduction of Byzantine artists into Germany, a great element was contributed to the Germans for the acquisition of architectural art, and awakened in them capacities which subsequently developed to the highest attainments.[2] A new emulation animated the imperial prelates, and the zeal for constructing and repairing churches was intensified under the strict orders of the emperor.[3]

The principal causes of the astounding rapidity with which the seeds of art-culture in Germany were scattered so widely, is, I think, assignable to two things,—the first of which was the introduction of corporations of Greek and Gothic artists into the Latin empire, and their fusion with the Longobardic guilds; because, as before observed, these associations preserved their existence down to the tenth century at least.[4] The second of these, and not the least insignificant, was the thorough organization which the Carlovingian emperor effected in the cloisters, and by the establishment of schools of art and sciences in the varied monastic institutions of the empire. We have briefly adverted to the royal encouragement of learning and the sterner sciences taught in these cloistered schools. Scholastic culture of that era was divided into seven liberal arts and sciences, consisting of the famous *Trivium*, viz., grammar, rhetoric, and logic, and the *Quadrium*, which included arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy. These collectively constituted the basis of a finished education during the Middle Ages, and still survive to the Freemasons. Cassiodorus,[5] the eminent Grecian philosophical writer of the time of Theoderich the Goth, was the author of these

[1] Stieglitz, *Geschichte der Baukunst*, p. 471; Scherr, *Deutsche Cultur*, p. 68.
[2] Stieglitz, *Ibid.*, p. 470.
[3] Emeric David, *Histoire de la Peinture au Moyen Age*, p. 70.
[4] Mueller, *Archæologie der Kunst*, p. 226.
[5] Tiraboschi, *Storia della Letteratura Italiana*, Tomo III., p. 11.

divisions. They seem to have been brought from Italy at a very early date, as Charlemagne, among his other accomplishments, according to Eginhard,[1] was proficient in grammar, rhetoric, and logic. This monarch appears to have been deeply interested in the seven liberal arts and sciences, since he caused them to be suitably painted in fresco on a wall.[2] The system of tuition in a monastery was under the direction of an abbot; he was the master, and the monks the pupils,[3] who cultivated the sciences, letters, and art. Each abbey had judicial powers, and administered justice to its dependents.[4] It also had an extensive farm attached, and possessed a manufactory and school.[5] Convents and monasteries, therefore, became a species of fortress where civilization, under the protection of some sainted martyr, pursued its quiet way. Astronomy, arithmetic, geometry, civil law, physics and medicine, the study of profane authors, were sheltered within these walls as within a sanctuary. It was particularly there that architecture and its kindred arts were cultivated,[6] and bishops frequently presided as masters over the execution of plans,[7] submitted to these prelates by builders, per-

[1] *In vita Karoli Mag.*, cap. xxv. In discenda Grammatica Petrum Pisanim audivit, in caeteris disciplinis Albinum, apud quem et rhetoricae et dialectae. One of the most important labors of this justly celebrated monarch has been lost to the world, viz., a collection of German songs and heroic poems, which were still recited and sung in his day. Although numerous searches have been made for them, they yet remain undiscovered.

[2] Görling, *Geschichte der Mahlerei*, Bd. I., p. 202.

[3] Le père abbé étoit le maître; les moines, comme les affranchis de ce maître, cultivoient les sciences, les lettres et les arts. Chateaubriand, *Etudes Historiques*, Tome III., pp. 319, 320. See further on this subject, Fosbroke's *British Monachism*, p. 183.

[4] Chateaubriand, *ut supra, loc. cit.*

[5] Fosbroke, *British Monachism*, p. 262.

[6] Fosbroke, *Ibid.*, p. 183.

[7] Die Bischöfe standen als Meister, dem Baue der Kirchen und Klöster vor, und sie stellten, zur ausführung, ihre Untergebenen an. Stieglitz, *Geschichte der Baukunst*, p. 473.

haps Byzantine, for approval, or worked out under episcopal instruction. Whatever details of art the foreign artists possessed were rapidly acquired by the monks, who, with these, also received and perpetuated the strange symbolism in mediæval architecture[1] which we have already seen to have existed in the Greek church.

It would seem that, as early as the eighth century, a regularly subordinated organization of masters and pupils was established in the cloisters of Germany,[2] rendered essential by the patronage of Charlemagne of the fine arts and sciences, which were assiduously cultivated, under the direction of masters thoroughly imbued with lofty sentiment, in order to add to the attractions of religious worship.[3] History has handed down from that remote age (the seventh century) the name of Saint Eloi, who was a goldsmith previous to his investiture with episcopal robes. Among the numerous abbeys entrusted to the care of this ecclesiastic, a selection was made of such monks as displayed an aptitude for mechanical skill.[4] At this period (the eighth century) many Greek monks, and especially the artists who had fled the persecutions resulting from the edict against image-worship, were evidently employed as principal workmen, in conjunction with their ecclesiastical brethren, on the Western churches. In many of the edifices of that age, Greek inscriptions on the cathedral walls sufficiently attest this. Moreover, numerous structures of a somewhat later date are described as having been constructed *more Græcum*, and *ad consuetudinem Græcorum*. A chapel at Paderborn, repaired in the tenth century, is declared to have been originally erected by one of the Carlo-

[1] Luebke, *Studium der kirchlichen Kunst*, p. 27.

[2] Lacroix, *Les Arts au Moyen Age*, p. 160.

[3] Lacroix, *Ibid.*, p. 28.

[4] Dans le septième siècle Saint Éloi qui fût un orfèvre renommé avant de devenir évêque, recrute parmi les Moines des divers couvents, soumis à son autorité canonique, tous ceux qu'il croit aptes à ces travaux d'art. *Ibid., loc. cit.*

vingian dynasty, by Greek operatives — *per Græcos operarios.*[1] When at their labors, these artists were under the control of an abbot or bishop, and by him supported and paid.[2] The details of Byzantine architecture and plastic art must necessarily have been derived from the earlier Greek artisans and their successors, or from the Oriental monks who settled in the Latin empire about the year 774. Through these channels all useful rules and technicalities of art in possession of the East were gradually transmitted to the monastic artificers, and by them in turn abandoned to the lay corporations of the mediæval Freemasons. The determined energy of Charles the Great, who had created schools of architecture in the various cloisters of the empire, caused the monasteries to become nurseries for the development of mechanical science. Such corporations of builders as were identified with and under the control of the abbeys, readily furnished a source whence an intimate knowledge of the principles of art were derived, and, in consequence, as rapidly as the monkish artists learned the rules and details of art, they communicated them in turn to other monks, who constituted the pupils in monastic schools. In the absence of reliable data, we may safely infer, I think, that some of the more important art-knowledge which these Byzantine craftsmen taught the monks consisted of the perpendicular principle in architecture, the means by which material should be prepared for buildings, a practical acquaintance with geometrical science, and, what for our purpose is more interesting, that style of art which, although far advanced in the Eastern church, attained its full perfection in the hands of European builders. I refer to the incorporating of symbolic or allegorical details in the construction of Middle Age edifices.

[1] Stieglitz, *Geschichte der Baukunst*, pp. 478–9.

[2] Berington, *Literary History of the Middle Ages*, pp. 324–5.

Schools of architecture originally worked in monasteries in rooms set apart for labor; and that such apartments actually existed, may be inferred from the fact that the great Carlovingian emperor built several of them in his private residence.[1] These schools were subjected to the same general regulations which governed various mechanical trades in the cloisters. Lacroix[2] asserts, on a chronicle of the time of Dagobert, that Saint Eloi organized the jewellers, whom he had selected from different monasteries, into a society comprising three degrees of laborers — masters, fellows, and apprentices. This celebrated bishop was prime minister of the king, and notwithstanding the distinguished preferment accorded him by royal favor, he continued none the less uninterruptedly to prosecute his trade at the forge. He manufactured for his regal patron a large number of golden vases, elegantly mounted with precious stones. He labored incessantly, having at his side Thillon, of Saxon origin, who followed the instructions of his master.[3] When Thillon, or Thean, the apprentice, had served a suitable time and acquired sufficient skill to be advanced to the degree of master in the trade of goldsmith, he was inducted into the control of Salignac abbey. This convent for several centuries preserved the traditions of its founder, Saint Eloi, and subsequently furnished many skilled workmen to numerous monastic workshops.[4]

[1] Vide, *supra*, p. 39.

[2] Éloi, travaillait sans se lasser, étant assis et ayant à ses côtés son serviteur Thillon, d'origine saxonne, qui suivait les leçons de son maître. Déjà l'orfèvrerie était organizée en corps d'état et elle devait comprendre trois degrés d'artisans: les *maîtres*, les *compagnons* et les *apprentis*. Lacroix, *Les Arts au Moyen Age*, pp. 160–1.

[3] Lacroix, *Ibid.*, p. 160.

[4] Lacroix, *Ibid.*, pp. 162–3. Perhaps this division of laborers into grades or degrees may have been suggested by the internal organization existing among the Byzantine builders.

CHAPTER IV.

ADVANCE OF ART IN THE MONASTERIES — CLERICAL ARCHITECTS — SKILLED PAINTERS AND SCULPTORS IN CONVENTS — PUPILS ORGANIZED INTO GRADES OR DEGREES — MODIFICATION OF ARCHITECTURAL STYLE IN THE TENTH CENTURY — CONTINUATION OF GRECIAN INFLUENCE — TENDENCY TO SYMBOLISM — PROGRESS IN ART STAYED UNTIL THE ELEVENTH CENTURY.

THIS system of dividing pupils into the three degrees alluded to, materially assisted the spread and rapid acquisition of a proficiency in architecture. At this epoch, the monks of St. Gall had become celebrated for their dexterity in the several branches of plastic art. Among these, Tutilon[1] was distinguished for his knowledge of statuary and his skill in sculpturing. To render himself the more thoroughly conversant with the technicalities of art, he travelled extensively into distant countries, and personally inspected the remains of ancient handiwork. In some localities, he left behind him such specimens of his skill that he became widely celebrated.[2] The architects of the church attached to the abbey of Pfaltz were brethren of the cloister, and subject to its discipline.[3] Ecclesiastical

[1] In St. Gall tritt (um 850) ein Universalgeist auf, der Mönch Tutilo ein Mann von riesenhafter Stärke, der sich als Baumeister, Toreut, u. s. w., gleichmässig auszeichnete. Görling, *Geschichte der Mahlerei*, Bd. I., p. 205.

[2] Multas propter artificia simul et doctrines peragraverat terras, etc. Eckerhard, *Decan. S. Gall.*, c. xxii.; also, Emeric David, *Histoire de la Peinture*, p. 79.

[3] Les architectes étaient des moines de l'abbaye même, les peintres des moines

artists of Reichenau decorated the new abbey of Saint Gall with appropriate embellishments about the year 850.[1]

Under the superintendence of monastic masters, the arts and sciences, during the Middle Ages, were cultivated and developed within the walls of cloisters; there it was that practical knowledge was preserved, which, considering the lamentable ignorance pervading the nations of Europe, could receive no encouragement from the laity. From these religious institutions, therefore, as a central point, diverged the light of future ages. Wherever churches were built, or other ecclesiastical edifices, it had become essential that the cloister brethren should be called to assist in furthering the work, and lend a helping hand in executing details; and having, in all lands, but one religious faith, they accordingly propagated one style of architecture, for which they persistently labored in unison;[2] and since the formation of the monastic schools, as above related, the members worked conjointly in such

de Reichenau. David, *Ibid.*, p. 78. There can be no doubt that at this epoch nearly all of the guilds of builders or Byzantine corporations had so far subjected themselves to church discipline as to be under complete ecclesiastical control. At first, perhaps, secular artificers, from necessity, were received into the monasteries or convents as the most available places for lodging during the time they were occupied in the construction of buildings, and whatever details or secrets of art were possessed by these travelling architects readily passed into the possession of the monks. At all events, there is every probability that churchmen of those ages accepted the usual means of securing such knowledge from the builders, by gradual advancement and strict subordination, which system thoroughly harmonized with the professed discipline of monastic institutions. The members of ecclesiastical organizations, as we shall presently see, were incorporated with these bodies and directed their labors as master architects. See Hope, *Essay on Architecture*, Vol. I., p. 233.

[1] Görling, *Geschichte der Mahlerei*, Bd. I., p. 205.

[2] Wo Kirchen und andere geistliche Gebaüde von nöthen, dahin wurden Klosterbrüder berufen, die Werke zu förderen und hülfreiche Hand zu leisten. Und wie die Klosterbrüder in allen Länden durch *eine* Religion fest vereint waren, so hatten sie auch nur *eine* Kunst, u. s. w. Stieglitz, *Geschichte der Baukunst*, p. 486.

fraternities,[1] and executed all plans upon identical rules and fixed principles, this may serve to explain the curious fact that, except in few instances, the name of a single master builder seldom appears: they all worked upon enterprises which were simply an integral portion of a vast and universal whole.

In the tenth century, art schools had assumed the appearance of a widely extended association, whose sole purpose, under ecclesiastical direction, was the construction and ornamentation of religious houses. At Reichenau, on Lake Constance, in Switzerland, Hadamor was distinguished for his artistic attainments, and as a proficient and skilled patron of art, the Abbot Witigono, in the time of Otto III., was unexcelled. At Regensburg existed a celebrated school of art, where Archbishop Thumo exercised his talents as an artist. Prague was the seat of an institution of this character; and one also in the cloister at Mur, which was especially prized on account of the skill of its artificers. Bishop Sigismund, of Halberstadt, at this period delineated on the walls of Merseburg Castle the celebrated paintings which represented Henry the Fowler in battle with the Hungarians.[2] In North Germany, at Hildesheim, Bernward, bishop of the diocese, was renowned for his architectural skill and knowledge of plastic art. He constructed St. Michel's church, and furnished it with doors which he cast from molten brass. Bishop Meiswerk instituted an influential art school at Paderborn, and strove to rival Bernward in his artistic

[1] According to Hope, *Essay on Architecture*, Vol. I., p. 233, the early refugee Greek architects were admitted into the lodges and increasing circles of filiations of the Byzantine builders. The gradual increase of art knowledge, communicated as above mentioned to the clergy by these corporations, ultimately allowed the church to have a dominant control over and in whatever direction these guilds of artificers, whether composed in part or entirely of monastic or lay members, were ordered by ecclesiastical authority. They contributed powerfully both to the mechanical and moral improvement of new localities.

[2] Görling, *Geschichte der Mahlerei*, Bd. I., p. 205.

attainments.[1] Painting on glass, whose probable invention Emeric David[2] assigns to the tenth century, seems to have made rapid progress under the fostering care of the monasteries; and for this purpose the Dukes of Normandy granted them important concessions. Guilliame, an abbé at Dijon, in France, assumed the religious control of forty cloisters in this century, and organized in each a school for instruction in fine arts; and for many years he had under his tuition a numerous body of monks, who, in turn, became masters.[3] At Salerno, the Benedictine monks erected a church to the Virgin. Jean,[4] chief of the abbey at Farfa, superintended a chapel which was dedicated to St. Peter. Towards the year 950, the illustrious Notker lived in the cloister of St. Gall; he excelled as a painter, physician, and poet. Hugues, of the convent of Moutier-en-Der, in the year 990, is described as a painter and sculptor, whose skill reproduced the church decorations of Salons-sur-Marne, which time had rendered invisible. St. Dunstan,[5] bishop of Canterbury, contemporary with these ecclesiastics, had the reputation of being a skilful manufacturer of musical instruments, and a clever artist.

[1] Hrabanus Maurus is especially mentioned by Görling, *Geschichte der Mahlerei*, Bd. I., p. 205, not only on account of his great skill in general accomplishment, but also for the remarkable success which he attained in the use of symbolic ornamentation.

[2] *Histoire de la Peinture au Moyen Age*, p. 79. See note (3), same page, for a full and learned discussion of this subject.

[3] Abbé Guillaume, qui, pendant de longues années, dirigea une foule d'artistes devenus chefs d'école à leur tour. Lacroix, *Les Arts au Moyen Age*, p. 360. This distinguished artist was not only the head of a religious organization, but also the master of an art school: et devint chef d'école d'art, aussi bien que chef religieux. Lacroix, *loc. cit.*

[4] In a citation by David, *ut sup.*, pp. 82-3, from Aegid. *De Gest. Pontif. Leod.*, *Tome* VIII., p. 597, etc., Abbe Jean was a native of Italy: *Italiae natu pollens*, and brought to Saint Gall by Otho III.

[5] Emeric David, *Histoire de la Peinture*, pp. 82-3. Berington, *Literary History of the Middle Ages*, pp. 199, 242-3, adverts to the attainments of the last cleric, but acknowledges the general sterility of culture in England at this epoch.

The disastrous consequences which followed the Norman invasions, in a measure checked the further advancement of art in Europe. From the beginning of the ninth until the commencement of the tenth century, with frequent intervals, England and France, and large portions of Germany, were devastated by uncivilized Northern invaders. Abbeys and convents, on account of their wealth, seem to have been special objects of destruction,[1] and, as a result, an almost total suspension of architectural labor, during that time, naturally ensued.[2] When, however, these inroads had nearly ceased, the disasters caused by such invasions indirectly served the progress of architecture and sculpture. A new and completer system of constructions, demanded by the exigencies of public worship, and better adapted to the rising elegance of church service, immediately came in vogue.[3] This epoch evinces a decided tendency to depart from the simple ornamentation in church architecture which had obtained from the time of Charlemagne; and it was at this period that art schools were organized on the extensive scale to which we have adverted in the case of Guilliame, abbé of Saint Benique, at Dijon, who became the master of such an institution as well as the religious head of an abbey.[4]

The style of development in architecture or painting, which had begun to exhibit a growing tendency to transformation, received a decided Byzantine impulse in Germany in the year 972, when Otto II. brought a spouse, the Grecian princess Theophania, to share his throne. The connection of the German empire with Byzantium, which hitherto had been more or less remote, was now directly established. This royal personage, who appeared unto the astonished vision of her German subjects in all the splen-

[1] Depping, *Histoire des Expéditions maritimes des Normands*, draws a terrible picture of these barbarous devastations in Germany.

[2] Lacroix, *Les Arts au Moyen Age*, p. 358.

[3] Lacroix, *Ibid.*, pp. 359–60.

[4] Lacroix, *Ibid.*, p. 360.

dor of Oriental trappings, was also accompanied by Greek artists. Notwithstanding Byzantine influence in art is perceptible at this late period in Germany, it does not appear to have entirely subdued that tendency to the transitional style to which we referred above; but the inclination to an increased symbolism in the elaboration of sacred edifices prominently appears, and of a kind which Görling[1] asserts to be radically unbyzantine, and which was essentially an outgrowth of the social necessities of Northern Europe. Other elements, deducible from gradually developed causes of action, — more recent symbolic allusions and combinations,— now strike the attention. A steady effort for the expression of new thought, elaborated upon such principles as to bring out the individuality of the artist, continually recurs. As this tendency to a Northern or Gothic symbolism in architectural and plastic art made its appearance at the close of the tenth century, and coming so closely upon the time when the fraternity of builders passed from the immediate control of the monasteries, it is significant, and can serve some purpose in pointing out, with tolerable accuracy, the period at which the well-defined Teutonic symbolism, which has descended to our day, became solidly and ineradicably incorporated with the formal observances current among the Middle Age lodges.[2]

The opinion, that the expiration of the one thousandth year of the Christian era was the time limited for the

[1] *Geschichte der Mahlerei*, Theil I., p. 207. Durchaus unbyzantinisch und speciell dem Norden Europas angehörend ist das allenthalben sich vordrängende Element neuer Bewegungsmotive, neuer symbolischen Bezüge und Combinationen.

[2] The junction of the Eastern and Western systems, which still exist in the internal operations of lodge work, unquestionably occurred in Northern Italy while under Gothic and Longobardic rule; and, as subsequent contact with European society moulded the two elements conjointly, a homogeneous result, as will be seen in Part II. of this book, was evolved by the substitution policy of the Christian church.

duration of the world, caused a temporary decline of art. All Europe was preparing for this much-dreaded event, which, however, was to attest the triumph of the religion of Christ. Further progress in repairing churches was stayed, and many edifices, in anticipation of the millennium, were suffered to remain in ruins.[1] When this epoch passed away without unusual incident, confidence in the unlimited existence of the universe gradually returned, and brought with it a rapid revival of the fine arts — a new zeal animated princes and prelates; they panted with an earnest desire to signalize themselves by pious enterprises.[2] Each school of art labored diligently to aid in accomplishing this purpose, and, at this time, the most remarkable monuments of Roman architecture arose throughout Europe.

[1] Emeric David, *Histoire de la Peinture*, p. 107. [2] David, *Ibid.*, p. 108.

CHAPTER V.

Social Changes in the Eleventh Century — Individualizing Tendencies of the Middle Ages — Feudal System — Struggle for Personal Liberty — Freemasonry Preserves the Characteristics of this Epoch — Communal or Guildic Privileges Asserted — Rapid Spread of Mechanical Guilds or Societies — First General Development in Towns and Cities — Corporations of Tradesmen and Immunities — Early Charter to Commune — Laymen Acquire Knowledge of Building Art from Ecclesiastics — Lay Artisans become closely United.

ALTHOUGH the Church still retained its influence, and possessed unbounded power over the religious belief of the people, a gradual change in the social condition of European countries had taken place, which, early in the eleventh century, began to assume a definite form. In various portions of Europe, particularly in the south of France, Northern Italy, and in Germany, the municipal regulations, as established under the Roman empire, had, in a measure, retained their effectiveness.[1] These municipalities seem to have exerted a mighty and preponderating influence in adding to the material interests of those countries, and appear to have been centres around which commerce and trades were first developed into a vigorous activity. Early in the eleventh century, the feudal system was firmly established, and the possessor of a fief, large or small, assumed, within the

[1] Savigny, *Geschichte des Römischen Rechts*, Theil I., cap. iii., may be advantageously consulted on this subject.

boundaries of his domain, all the rights and prerogatives of a sovereign power. No external authority could dictate laws, exact imposts, collect taxes, or administer justice in his territory. The proprietorship alone carried with it all these powers.[1] In the Middle Ages, the condition of social life was, in many respects, deplorable ; and although the *morale* of the people may have been decidedly inferior to that of our own time, yet, in general, the individuality of men was unlimited, and their will energetic. General ideas, which exercise a dominion over the minds of mankind, and control the spirit without regard to time or place, existed then in a limited degree. Each individual employed his energies for himself exclusively, according to personal inclination, — irregularly, without doubt, but with bold confidence.[2] That central, supreme, and uniform power which distinguished the governments of antiquity, was destroyed by the Northern invaders. It is true, that Charlemagne attempted to reproduce it, and, by the exercise of an audacious sovereignty, he temporarily succeeded; after his death, it dissolved before the native Germanic individuality, which reappeared in primitive vigor. The imperial administration which the Carlovingian king endeavored to create, still retained vitality, upon a narrower scale, in the separate and individual governments of petty sovereigns, who had divided their territories into smaller miniature empires, in which, so far as political authority was involved, they were absolute.[3]

Ecclesiastical power, from the tenth century, struggled, and with much success, to consummate the abdication of the freedom of human intelligence and the unquestioned recognition of spiritual interposition in temporal society.[4]

[1] Au XI^e^ siècle, la féodalité une fois établie, le possesseur de fief grand ou petit, avait dans ses dominions tous les droits de la souveraineté. Guizot, *Histoire de la Civilisation en France*, Tome III., p. 262.

[2] Guizot, *Ibid.*, Tome III., p. 232.

[3] Guizot, *Ibid.*, Tome II., pp. 389, 391.

[4] Guizot, *Ibid.*, p. 398.

The Church, in the eleventh century, passed to a condition of theocratic and monastic government. This result was mainly due to the energy and policy of Gregory VII. Coincident in point of time with his attempt to submit the civil world to the Church and the Church to the papacy, for the purpose of reform and progress, an effort of a similar nature was inaugurated in the very heart of the monasteries. The necessity of a more thorough discipline, of greater order, and a stricter morality, had for a long time been apparent. And while the clergy sought to crush out, beneath the weight of ecclesiastical censure, all independence of mind; while it pressed with urgency to organize society, both civil and clerical, upon uniform and unvarying principles, whose application contemplated the undisputed autocracy of the Holy Father and the submissive compliance of church and people; and while the monastic institutions were reformed in their morals, there were bold and defiant intellects, such as Abelard, John Erigena, and others, who asserted the inherent right of human reason to pass judgment upon ideas. The importance of this first attempt at liberty, and to free the mind from the crushing influence at work to trammel intelligence, within the limits of uniform church discipline, was quickly felt. The Romish church became alarmed, and declared an uncompromising warfare at once against the new reformers whose doctrines menaced the successful unifying of society. It was the eleventh century which witnessed the explosion of ecclesiastical wrath upon these free-thinkers. Although numerous councils condemned them, still their principles survived.[1]

[1] Guizot, *Histoire Générale de la Civilisation en Europe*, pp. 184, 187. The agitations which actively fermented both civil and ecclesiastical society at this epoch, undoubtedly forced the builders, who, as yet, were simply associated, and under sacerdotal control, into a closer organization. When these constructors definitely withdrew from direct clerical authority, it was essential that they should be united by mutual oaths, in order to strengthen their association.

Another element which entered largely into the body politic of mediæval society, was a Teutonic contribution. Although the subdivisions of territory, which were made in the organization of the feudal system, created a distinction between the nobleman, who arrogated all the powers of a sovereign prince, and the various descending grades of subordinate officers down to the humble vassals, still the aristocratic principle and the inequality which accompanied these distinctions had not destroyed, as between the chief and his companions, all ancient relations of right and liberty. In the tenth century, the Germanic element of modern society still retained the doctrine of national assemblies, the right of men to govern themselves, and certain ideas, certain sentiments of personal independence, ingrafted in the bosom of a system entirely aristocratic. At the close of the tenth century, various combinations, faint traditions of imperial authority, descended from the disintegration of the Roman empire; the efforts of the Church to establish and perpetuate a society, each member of which, whether lay or ecclesiastical, should be, so to speak, run in the same mould; and the individualism characteristic of the German nations, preserving unaltered, through varying changes, clearly-defined ideas of personal right and liberty[1]—it is, we say, only at the termination of the tenth century, that the fermentation had ceased, and that the amalgamated discordant elements have united to form a well-regulated, in a word, modern society. These great results, which the vast erudition of M. Guizot has established, attest the authenticity of an important fact, which bears immediately upon the internal and organic functions of the fraternity of Freemasons. In its

[1] Les éléments fondamentaux, essentiels de la civilisation moderne en général, et en particulier de la civilisation française, se réduisent à trois: le monde romain, le monde chrétien, et le monde germanique; l'antiquité, le christianisme et la barbarie. Guizot, *Histoire de la Civilisation en France*, Tome II., p. 388.

organization, Freemasonry presents the indisputable evidence of having existed at a period when the three principal elements enumerated above were slowly amalgamating. It possesses the absolutism of a Roman autocrat in the person of a Master clothed with the emblems of power; it has the unifying idea of a single religious belief, which is essentially a fundamental principle, and has always constituted an indispensable portion of Masonic government. Finally, it retains the Germanic freedom and liberty of action in the varied nature of its elective prerogatives.

At the same time that the component parts of modern civilization, about the beginning of the eleventh century, had become fairly fused, another movement, none the less significant in its influence, began to assume formidable proportions, viz., the movement of enfranchising communes, or the authority of towns to regulate their internal affairs without foreign interference; and also the right of freedom from many of the numerous imposts levied upon tradespeople, who composed almost exclusively the members of such corporations. When the feudal *regime* had become settled, a new activity began to evince itself in the small villages, which were either descended from the Roman empire or developed originally around the walls of a church or chateau, and a certain taste for progress or amelioration displayed itself. In order to satisfy this in a measure, commerce and industry reappeared in the towns of the feudal domains — wealth and population returned there again, slowly at first, but they returned. Among the circumstances which materially increased their numbers, according to Guizot,[1] was the right of sanctuary or security within ecclesiastical walls. Prior to the time that safety in a commune could be afforded alone behind impenetrable butments and fortified stone, or by irresistible force, an asylum to the refugee, whether of high or low

[1] *Histoire Générale de la Civilisation en Europe*, p. 199.

estate, nobleman or serf, was assured beneath the buckler of religion. Extortions of the nobility from the burgesses redoubled during the tenth century.[1] Against these exactions the commons raised many complaints, which, however, passed unheeded, and made the lack of security more keenly felt. The merchant who peddled his wares into the territory of neighboring princes was not permitted to reënter his own village without personal danger and heavy taxes.[2] At the very moment industry began to thrive, was precisely the time when safety was most wanted. During the course of this century the towns gradually acquired more force, more wealth, and greater interests to defend. In proportion to the increase of their wealth, the exactions of the nobility were equally rapacious; and although at this period there does not appear to have existed a regularly organized force, seeking to check the grievous oppressions of their rulers, still the ever-recurring spectacle of the individual will refusing to submit presents itself.[3]

Following in the wake of the quiet and unobtrusive influences of time, almost unnoticed in Germany, the same tendency to an emancipation from the control of aristocratic noblemen manifests itself. As late as the year 1073, but little freedom existed in the rural districts;[4] everywhere appeared the same squalid tillers of the soil, who passed, with the grant of the freehold, as so much cattle, while others dragged out a miserable livelihood. Things were on a more favorable basis in the towns,

[1] Guizot, *Histoire Générale de la Civilisation en Europe*, p. 201.

[2] Les marchands, après avoir fait leur tournée, ne pouvaient rentrer en paix dans leur ville; les routes, les avenues étaient sans cesse assiégées par le seigneur et ses hommes. Guizot, *ubi supra*, p. 201.

[3] Guizot, *Ibid.*, p. 213. With such dangers threatening civil and religious society, it is easy to infer for what purpose travelling builders should ultimately desire to organize themselves into an oath-bound fraternity.

[4] Auf dem Lande herrschte auch im Yahre 1073 noch keine Freiheit. Wirth, *Geschichte der Deutschen*, Bd. II., p. 92.

because, by means of their mechanical occupation, the tradespeople rendered themselves independent of agricultural labors. Manual labor was especially contemned by the owners of landed estates, particularly as, according to the spirit of the old constitution, the ranks of artificers must be recruited from the social grade of bondsmen. Under such circumstances, it cannot be presumed that tradesmen had much influence in public affairs. On the contrary, for the purpose of reminding them of their servile descent, grinding taxes and heavy imposts were exacted, which, moreover, preserved the identity between them and the agrarian serf.[1] Portions of land encompassed by the town walls were the property of either princes, bishop, or the emperor, and whenever an artisan erected his dwelling there, such residence brought with it a milder form of service. To all outward appearances, the tradesman's condition in the town was but little removed from that of the provincial serf on his owner's lands, yet, in fact, it was far preferable. Opportunities for greater service abundantly offered themselves, and, by a persistent zeal, steady industry, and scrupulous economy, such persons were ultimately able to become independent of these burdens, or in some manner cease to be subject to them. In the provinces, the serf was in reality the artisan for his lord; but the community of interests, which welded the

[1] Die Handarbeit wurde auch damals von den Grundherren noch tief verachtet, und die Geschlechter in den Städten könnten ihren Adel nur durch strenge Vermeidung eines bürgerlichen Gewerbes bewahren. Nach dem Geiste der alten Verfassung muszten die *Handwerker* aus dem Stande der Leibeignen hervorgehen. Wirth, *Geschichte der Deutschen*, Bd. II., pp. 92–3. According to this author, *op. cit.*, p. 93, the class of laborers indicated in the text were not authorized to adjudicate difficulties arising among themselves, nor permitted to select officers or judges from their caste. The character of the handicraft performed by monastic builders, and their connection with church government, no doubt afforded opportunities of extending their privileges, and secured greater concessions than the more servile craftsmen, whose limited skill necessarily made them less desirable workmen.

tradespeople together in towns or cities, afforded an opportunity for a mutual protection, and also, by a free interchange of thought and constant contact, the advantages of increasing in artistic cleverness. As a result, the city artist, who had reached a degree of skill in his trade which was impossible with the rural workman, secured the patronage[1] of nobility, whose increasing demands for fine goods and skilled workmanship in ornate garments, elegant armor, weapons, etc., materially advanced his interests.[2] Following the example of his illustrious father, Otto I. had encouraged commerce in addition to granting numerous concessions, freeing the trades from many local imposts.

During the tenth and eleventh centuries, commerce had increased to such extent that a lively trade sprung up on the Elbe and Rhine. Wirth[3] alleges that in the year 979, by a law of King Ethelred II., certain privileges were conceded to German merchants. Through the agencies of these various causes, a gradual accumulation of wealth by the citizens of towns and cities made the extortions of the nobility more irritating, and led to frequent insurrections, which ended in granting communal charters.[4] Previous to the investiture of citizenship in a chartered community, each person was obliged to swear faithfully to preserve the commune. Magistrates were nominated in a public assembly convoked by sound of a bell. After the election had taken place, the convocation dissolved, not to meet again until new elections were called. The magistrate

[1] So wollten Bischöfe und Edelleute ihren Schmuck von den bürgerlichen Arbeitern beziehen, wodurch denn diesen ein beträchtlicher Verdienst zuging. Wirth, *Geschichte der Deutschen*, Theil II., p. 94.

[2] Les possesseurs des domaines, au milieu desquels elles étaient situées reconnurent qu'ils profitaient de leur prospérité et avaient intérêt à en seconder le développement. Guizot, *Histoire de la Civilisation en France*, Tome IV., p. 214.

[3] *Geschichte der Deutschen*, Bd. II., p. 94.

[4] Guizot, *Histoire Générale de la Civilisation en Europe*, p. 203.

governed almost alone, and without responsibility, until his term of office expired, or was checked by a popular *emeute*, which constituted the grand corrective of those ages.[1] Guizot[2] gives in full a charter granted to the city of Orleans, which is, perhaps, the earliest document preserved, wherein certain concessions are made, some of which relieve the citizens for the future from an exaction of wine tollage during vintage season. This charter was issued in the year 1057.

Two causes powerfully coöperated at this epoch to wrest the exclusive possession of architectural and plastic art from the monasteries and cloister brethren, who hitherto had retained the entire control of it, the first of which was the acquisition of enormous wealth by the convents and abbeys. Consequently, religious service had become, in the hands of the clergy, a mere mummery, and an instrument whereby the laity could be held in subjugation. Luxury and dissipation crept within walls which, for centuries, were regarded by credulous minds as invested with the odor of sanctity.[3] Dissolute habits sapped the nervous energy with which the ecclesiastics had labored to attract the popular mind by the elegance of churches and chapels, and nearly all spiritual knowledge was ignored. Notwithstanding there were many monks withal, who continued to prosecute the construction of sacred edifices, and adorn them with an intense and zealous assiduity, the alteration of monastic discipline and the new social condition of laymen of this age permitted the exclusive possession of art to pass from their control.[4] The second of the causes to which we have

[1] Guizot, *Histoire Générale de la Civilisation en Europe*, p. 217.

[2] *Histoire de la Civilisation en France*, Tome IV., p. 388.

[3] Stieglitz, *Geschichte der Baukunst*, p. 520.

[4] Da traten Künstler auszerhalb der Klöster auf, und das ganze Wesen der Kunst nahm eine andere Gestalt an. Stieglitz, *in loc. cit.* Lay brethren were regularly accepted into such fraternal relations upon petition presented to a chapter of monks. Fosbroke, *British Monachism*, p. 191.

alluded was the gradual change which had taken place in the regulation of conventual institutions early in the eleventh century. At first none were admitted to fellowship with the monks except such as consecrated themselves to the practical duties of priesthood. By the alteration referred to, any one might be received as a brother, without being compelled to assume monkish attire, or to take the usual vows. These neophytes performed the domestic duties incident to monasteries, and in their hands was entrusted all manual labor.[1] It will be seen that in this way laymen could acquire a thorough and practical knowledge of the various arts and mechanical trades taught in the abbeys; and through these lay brethren, the general principles of art which were obtained within the walls of monasteries, extended to persons not immediately connected with the cloisters.

The progress which the industrial arts had made in the cities of Germany, was assisted by the establishment of free communes, where branches of trade were more securely followed. However, the constant warfare waged between the artisans and nobility, which ended in the several concessions as previously stated, demanded a closer union of the citizens, both to successfully terminate their struggles for individual freedom, and to maintain the privileges wrung from determined oppressors with so great labor. And at a time when, amidst the almost

[1] Da gab es erstlich Laienbrüder, die in allen Stücken mit den Mönchen sich nach der eingeführten Zuchtordnung richteten und nur nicht zu Priestern geweiht wurden. Endlich *Geschenkte* oder *Geopferte*, welche ohne Mönchsrock und ohne Gelübde im Klöster mitlebten, ihm ihre Habe zubrachten und nachliessen, auch anstatt der Mönche, die nöthigen Handarbeiten und wirthschaftlichen Dienste verrichteten. Henke, *Kirchengeschichte*, Bd. II., p. 177. Vide Du Cange, *Gloss. Med. et Infim. Lat., sub voce*, Oblati. The *Oblati*, in token of submission, bound a bell-rope about their necks. Fosbroke, *British Monachism*, chap. xxx., gives much valuable information touching the regulations enjoined upon these lay brethren while at work within the monastic shops.

total disregard of personal rights and the unnumbered acts of violence; when royal authority was openly defied, and was confessedly powerless to repress outrages to which people were daily subjected, then it was that citizens were compelled to associate themselves into more intimate organizations, driven by instinct of self-preservation, in order to maintain their property and preserve their personal security.[1]

[1] Als nämlich in den Zeiten allgemeiner Umgriffe und Gewaltthätigkeiten, wo es den Königen an nachdrücklichen Zwangs-und Vollstreckungsmitteln zur Selbsthülfe genöthigt waren, behaupteten diese ihr Eigenthum und ihre Sicherheit mit dem Waffen. Ungewitter, *Geschichte des Handels und der Industrie*, p. 233. So far as the *origin* of guilds is concerned, there can be no question that their existence is coeval with the Teutonic constitution. Wilda, *Das Gilden Wesen*, pp. 3, 212; Lacroix, *Moeurs et Usages*, p. 52; also, Toulman Smith, *English Guilds*, pp. 73–79. See, also, chapter on Guilds in the subsequent part of this work.

CHAPTER VI.

PROPAGATION OF SOCIETIES OR GUILDS FOR MUTUAL PROTECTION — CONCESSIONS TO GUILDIC TRADESMEN — MEDIÆVAL CRAFTSMEN ORGANIZED INTO MUTUAL-HELP ASSOCIATIONS — THEIR IMPORTANCE AND EXTENT — UNSUCCESSFUL EFFORTS TO DESTROY THEM — RIGHT OF INTERNAL GOVERNMENT RECOGNIZED.

THE eleventh century was the epoch at which, as previously stated, the various elements of modern society had amalgamated and assumed their relative proportions in the universal mass of the body politic. Among the prominent features of this transformation, that individualizing tendency, already mentioned, is noticeably apparent, and nowhere does this characteristic betray itself so strikingly as in the rapid spread of guilds or associations of artificers and others, voluntarily formed for purposes of mutual protection; and nothing, perhaps, has so largely contributed to the increase of power and significance, to the foundation of the freedom and importance of mechanical labor, as these societies or fraternities. Divested of the many abuses which resulted from the development of these guilds, in their relation to public affairs, inestimable advantage was derived from the intimate connection which necessarily existed between the apprentices and their masters. The apprentice was received into the bosom of his master's family upon a footing of equality, and the mistress of the house regarded him as a son.[1] What a vast distinction is

[1] Friedrich von Raumer, *Geschichte der Hohenstaufen*, Bd. V., p. 309.

here between the servile labor of the Roman tradesman; the hopeless task of the land-bound artist prior to the eleventh century, and the ennobled apprentice, who, on equal terms, worked under the parental guidance of a free master![1]

In the year 1061, Philip I. of France instituted a guild of tallow-chandlers, which, according to Von Raumer,[2] is the earliest of record. It was established four years after the charter[3] enfranchising the city of Orleans, in 1057, was granted by Henry I., and, in a measure, confirms the assumption that the same spirit of personal liberty which wrung this warrant from the royal prerogatives, also compelled a recognition of the declared rights of these humble tallow-chandlers! In the twelfth century, guilds had spread with marvellous rapidity[4] throughout Europe, and were composed of nearly every trade or occupation. In the year 1106, the fishmongers associated at Worms, and were permitted the exercise of certain privileges.[5] Among the leading occupations incorporated into guilds[6] of this age, in Italy, were mer-

[1] A cant expression, much used during the Middle Ages.

[2] Im Yahr 1061 (die ælteste) für Lichtzieher von Philip I. Von Raumer, *loc. cit.* n. (5). Winzer, *Die deutschen Bruderschaften des Mittelalters*, p. 42, says a charter was in the possession of a guild of fishermen, at Ravenna, about the commencement of the tenth century. He does not, however, properly authenticate the assertion. It appears that Otto III., at the request of the Bishop of Pisa, conceded to the merchants of Asti greater facilities for their business, but nothing of a charter is mentioned. Gia nel 992 Ottore III. avea conceduto ai mercatanti d'Asti ampia facoltà, etc. Cibrario, *Frammenti Storici*, pp. 216–17.

[3] As this charter of Henri I., in the year 1057, possesses an interest on account of its remote antiquity, and is, perhaps, the earliest royal concession preserved, I refer the reader to Guizot, *Histoire de la Civilisation en France*, Tome IV., p. 307, where it may be found.

[4] Von Raumer, *Geschichte der Hohenstaufen*, Bd. V., p. 309.

[5] Im Yahre 1106, Fischerinnung in Worms; 1134, Tuchmacher und Küschner in Quedlenburg. Von Raumer, *Geschichte der Hohenstaufen*, Bd. V., p. 309, n. (5).

[6] Ungewitter, *Geschichte des Handels und der Industrie*, pp. 234–5. This

chants, money-changers, woollen weavers, tailors, surgeons, apothecaries, silk workers, coachmakers, steel workers, goldsmiths, carpenters, stonecutters and masons.[1] These guilds or trades' unions, uniting the several branches of business or industry, exercised almost unlimited control over the political concerns of various European cities. Combined originally for mutual aid and protection, these societies ultimately developed into closely organized corporations.[2] To such an extreme were their presumptions carried, that, in the year 1273, in the city of Pistoja, their privileges were revoked, and the associations opened to the public. In Perugia, on account of their vast political influence having been unduly exerted in favor of his opponent, Pope Innocence IV., for whose cause contributions of money were made by them, they were suppressed by Gregory IX.[3] In Denmark, in the time of Canute, these brotherhoods had the power to elect a presiding officer: they had also a secretary, halls to meet in, independent judicial powers, and formal processes for compulsory attendance.[4] Von Raumer asserts[5] that this right of election was universal among the guilds, and sometimes a protector, usually a person of high standing and noble birth,[6] was selected to represent their interests

author uses the words *Steinmetzen* and *Maurer* to signify the same profession. Vide Machiavelli, *Istorie Fiorentine,* Tomo I., pp. 402-3, etc.

[1] For additional information on the subject of Italian guilds, see Von Raumer, *ut supra,* Bd. IV., p. 336.

[2] Kloss, *Die Freimaurerei in ihrer wahren Bedeutung,* p. 227.

[3] Von Raumer, *Geschichte der Hohenstaufen,* Bd. V., p. 98, and Wilda, *Das Gilden Wesen im Mittelalter,* pp. 40, 174–5, for government measures against guilds; also Unger, *Die Altdeutsche Gerichts-verfassung,* p. 68.

[4] Dahlmann, *Geschichte von Dännemark,* Bd. III., p. 13.

[5] *Geschichte der Hohenstaufen,* V., p. 311. The majority of voices under the master's rulings usually decided questions which came before these bodies. In der Zunft entschied gewöhnlich die Mehrheit der Stimmen unter dem Vorsitz eines Altmeisters. *Ibid.*

[6] Kloss, *Die Freimaurerei in ihrer wahren Bedeutung,* p. 279, says Masonic guilds had no patrons. He is clearly in error, as we shall presently see. Con-

in the councils of the cities. In the year 1155, Louis VII., king of France, issued his royal warrant to the butchers at Etampes, revoking certain imposts and contributions which had been levied upon them by the sergeants of the city, the prevôt, and others. A few years later, among the concessions made to the tradesmen of the same city, it was set forth in a charter of Louis VII. that, in future, the wax merchants should only be assessed a *denier* (less than a penny) on their wares, and this but once a year. At the beginning of the thirteenth century, Philip Augustus made an important concession to the weavers of the same place.[1] We shall have occasion hereafter to refer more at length to this charter.

sult upon this Wilda, *Gilden Wesen*, p. 333, and Krause, *Kunsturkunden*, Theil II., Abt. 1, p. 107, and Winzer, *Die deutschen Bruderschaften des Mittelalters*, p. 30.

[1] Guizot, *Histoire de la Civilisation en France*, Tome IV., pp. 327–322. This charter conceded the right of duelling among the members. If the combat occurred in consequence of some grave infraction of the law, the victor was entitled to a pecuniary reward: *le champion vainqueur ne recevra pas plus de trente-deux sous, etc.*

CHAPTER VII.

GUILDS OF FREEMASONS IN THE ELEVENTH CENTURY — BUILDING ART PASSES FROM THE CHURCH TO ORGANIZED CRAFTSMEN — ECCLESIASTICS STILL FORM PART OF MASONIC BODIES — VAST STRUCTURES ERECTED IN THIS AND ENSUING CENTURIES — SKILLED WORKMEN ALONE ADMITTED AMONG FREEMASONS — THEY WORK ON UNIFORM PLANS AND PRESERVE TRADITIONAL TYPES — DEGREES OF APPRENTICE, FELLOW, OR COMPANION, AND MASTER — RELIGIOUS TENDENCY OF MEDIÆVAL MASONS — SALUTARY EFFECT OF THESE CRAFTSMEN ON ARCHITECTURE — THEY GO FROM PROVINCE TO PROVINCE, CONSTRUCTING SACRED AND OTHER EDIFICES.

REFERENCE has already been made to the manner in which the laity acquired a general familiarity with the principles of art during the eleventh century. It was at this epoch that the guilds, or associations of constructors or Freemasons, assumed a definite position in mediæval society.[1] Architectural art, which previously had remained the exclusive property of the cloisters, passed from the possession of monastic workmen into the control of artists outside of conventual walls.[2]

[1] C'est à cette époque, c'est-à-dire au onzième siècle . . . . que se formèrent les premières associations de constructeurs, dont les abbés et les prélats faisaient eux-mêmes partie. Lacroix, *Les Arts au Moyen Age*, p. 390.

[2] Da traten auszerhalb der Klöster auf, und das ganze Wesen der Kunst nahm eine andere Gestalt an. Stieglitz, *Geschichte der Baukunst*, p. 520. Luebke, *Geschichte der Architectur*, p. 340, says that this transition occurred about the twelfth century, and from this time henceforth art knowledge was preserved in close organizations of Freemasons. *Ibid.*, 464. The frequent mention of monk workmen among the Middle Age Freemasons leads Krause to the conclusion that a union occurred after the change above adverted to. It is not probable, however. Vide *Die drei ælteşten Kunsturkunden*, Theil I., Abt. 2, p. 307.

The entire characteristics of art, in consequence of this movement, assumed another form. Architecture, no longer exclusively cultivated in secluded monasteries and wrought out with a greater or lesser degree of skill in proportion to the standard of excellence attained by clerical workmen, had now become the property of artificers, who, closely joined together in guilds, worked in strict accordance with generally-established and well-understood principles, and with a rigid adherence to certain rules which had descended to them from remoter ages.[1] Of these associations, the abbés and prelates necessarily formed a part. These guilds of builders were essentially composed of men bound together by a religious vow.[2] Consequently, when the insecurity of those ages demanded a closer association of skilled labor, these fraternities of constructors or masons were reorganized under the influence and direction of church discipline.[3] At this period the increasing demand for the erection and decoration of cathedrals and other houses of religious worship necessitated the employment of workmen both practical and conversant with the details of art. The enthusiasm for the construction of churches and abbeys which surged up during the eleventh century, rendered it essential that a larger number of artisans should be employed than at any time prior to this era. When the opening year of the eleventh century had reassured the superstitious spirit of those who previously expected a dissolution of the Universe, zealous impulses for the building of sacred edifices moved the entire Latin church. This enthusiasm developed into a mania. In every direction old churches were razed to the ground; everywhere arose

[1] Stieglitz, *Geschichte der Baukunst*, p. 520.

[2] Qui étaient essentiellement composées d'hommes liés par un voeu religieux. Lacroix, *ut supra*, p. 390.

[3] Church exigencies, which demanded the constant exercise of the Freemasons' art knowledge, will readily suggest a valid reason for the continuance of these corporations under ecclesiastical influence.

new edifices, vaster and more elegant than those preceding them. In the year 1001 the church of St. Benigne and the rotunda, still preserved at Dijon, were constructed. At Rheims, in the year 1005; Tours, in 1012; Cambrai, in 1020; Orleans, Limoges, and in many other towns in France, numerous cathedrals were erected.[1] Robert, king of France, alone built twenty-one churches, the remains of which have descended to our day. Clugny Abbey still possesses a curiously-wrought structure, dating back to the year 1088. Thiémon, a German artist, towards the close of the eleventh century, had signalized himself as an operative mason or stonecutter. After having enriched several convents with his handicraft, he was inducted into the archepiscopal see of Salzburg in the year 1090.[2] Fine arts were still fostered in the convents of Europe; and, as no church could be erected without the consent and under the superintendence of the diocesan bishop, none but the most skilled laborers were accepted as workmen, nor were ordinary artisans admitted to the highly-prized rights and privileges of these religious associations of builders.[3]

From the closeness of their organizations, the guilds were suffered, by the terms of their charters, when actually granted, or in accordance with immemorial usage,[4] to reject all who were, from ignorance or inability to learn, not duly qualified to become members.[5] The earlier statuesque

[1] Emeric David, *Histoire de la Peinture au Moyen Age*, p. 108.

[2] Thiémon, peintre, sculpteur, professeur de belles lettres, qui, après avoir enrichi de ses ouvrages plusieurs couvents, fut nommé en 1090 Archevêque de Salzbourg. David, *Ibid.*, p. 112. On the subject of distinguished persons being proficient in the above art, and for an amusing reference to James I., see Poole, *Ecclesiastical Architecture in England*, p. 116.

[3] Lacroix, *Les Arts au Moyen Age*, p. 390.

[4] It has been clearly demonstrated, by the best authorities on the subject of guilds, that there were no original charters calling such bodies into existence. Toulman Smith, *English Guilds*, p. 128; Wilda, *Das Gilden Wesen im Mittelalter*, p. 96.

[5] Pour qu'il sache fére le mestier. Boileau, *Règlements des Arts et Métiers.*

productions of this epoch frequently betray a want of skill, and from this Stieglitz[1] is led to conclude that, until the guilds of Freemasons had become more widely extended, there was only a limited intercourse existing between the more remote cloisters where plastic art, as we have seen, continued to be cultivated, and that the religious artist, thus isolated, worked according to his own models. However elevated, therefore, the artistic standard may have been in a certain monastery, it could scarcely have exercised sufficient influence to be felt upon similar institutions situated at a remote distance. Moreover, that there were artisans of great merit in this age, is proven by such relics as have descended to us, and that the general character of their productions was the result of personal study and application, cannot be denied. It has been conjectured,[2] from the figures of our Saviour in the chancel of the church at Wechselberg, that the Byzantine artists were the precursors of mediæval artists — an assumption which, I think, is fully corroborated by the ever-recurring Greek types and symbols in church architecture. We have endeavored to show how, in the early age of the Latin church, almost all works of art were executed by these workmen, and when the convents became possessed of architectural and plastic arts, they mainly derived them from the Byzantine operatives. When, therefore, this art passed from the hands of monastic laborers into the custody of a society of lay constructors, it carried with it all the

Manche Gewerbe waren daselbst geschlossen oder die Aufnahme hing doch von Königlicher und städischer Genehmigung ab; anders durfte man treiben sobald man nur die nöthigen Kentnisse nachwies. Von Raumer, *Geschichte der Hohenstaufen*, Bd. V., p. 311. Sometimes a property qualification was essential for admission to guildic membership: *et il ait coi.* Boileau, *ut supra.* A multiplicity of guilds was considered highly beneficial, both for the financial and political condition of the mediæval cities. Grimm, *Meistergesang*, p. 10.

[1] *Geschichte der Baukunst*, p. 513.

[2] Stieglitz, *Ibid., loc. cit.*

traditional types and symbols with which the ecclesiastics invested their sacred edifices.

These guilds, in their organized form, so far at least as was essential to their cohesion, introduced naturally such elements, eliminated from civil society of that age, as tended to direct their establishment to practical purposes. For instance, Freemasonry borrowed, as before suggested, the outlines of its constitution from the three amalgamated principles which were fundamental in the early Middle Ages: the autocratic, personal independence, and ecclesiastical. It was necessarily tinctured with the mythological superstitions, which still retained at this period a vigorous hold on the people of Northern Europe. As the guilds traced their origin back into the twilight of time, and were coeval with the first forms of Germanic society,[1] consequently many fragments of heathen rites and observances passed with them into succeeding mediæval fraternities. It may therefore be safely alleged that Teutonic mythology, from its earliest contact with the Eastern builders in the fifth century, and through the line of centuries following, has contributed very largely to Masonic symbolism. The guilds of constructors or Freemasons appropriated the several degrees which, as we have already seen, existed in the monasteries at a very early age, viz.: Apprentice, Fellow, and Master. As these fraternities were reorganized under church patronage, they imbibed at their inception a strong religious sentiment,—a characteristic which has come down with Masonic lodges from past ages.

During the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the society of constructors or Freemasons had become established on a solid basis, and began to exercise a widespread and salutary influence upon the architecture of Europe. Towards the termination of the eleventh century, this brotherhood of

[1] Wilda, *Das Gilden Wesen im Mittelalter*, p. 3; Toulman Smith, *English Guilds*, pp. 86, 73; Rogge, *Das Gerichtswesen der Germanen*, p. 61; and Unger, *Die Altdeutsche Gerichts-verfassung*, pp. 47, 50.

artists executed in Alsace many prodigious works of art.[1] In Normandy, at the commencement of the twelfth century, the same zeal and same extent of artistic labor are exhibited. A few of the names of these ancient builders have been transmitted to us: Otho, who built the cathedral of Séez; Garnier, that of Fécamp, and Auquetil, who erected the minster of Petit Ville.[2] At this epoch the Freemasons formed a numerous and powerful corporation,[3] and architecture, together with many other arts, at this time passed from the monasteries into the possession of lay architects, organized into fraternities of Masons.[4] These travelled from country to country, transmitting the traditional types of workmanship, and from this circumstance resulted that monuments of their skill, erected at the remotest distance from each other, offered a striking analogy, and frequently a complete similitude.

[1] Lacroix, *Les Arts au Moyen Age*, p. 364.

[2] Lacroix, *Ibid.*, pp. 364–5.

[3] Les maçons et sculpteurs formaient à cette époque une nombreuse et puissante corporation. Lacroix, *loc. cit.*

[4] C'est d'ailleurs à cette époque que l'architecture, comme tous les autres arts, sort des monastères pour passer aux mains des architectes laïques, organisés en confrèries, voyageant d'un pays à l'autre, et transmettant ainsi les types traditonnels. Lacroix, *ut supra*, p. 401. Also, Stieglitz, *Geschichte der Baukunst*, p. 528. So bildeten sich auch aus den Handwerken, welche im Klosterverband lebend, den Mönchen bei der ausführung der Bauten dienten, genossenschaftlichen Verbruederungen aus denen sin der Folge ohne Zweifel die Bauhütten hervor gingen. Luebke, *Geschichte der Architectur*, pp. 302–340 and 464, where this distinguished archæologist asserts that, at the period above noted, the arts passed into secret organizations, controlled by *weltliche Meister* — lay masters.

CHAPTER VIII.

UNCERTAINTY OF MASONIC HISTORY AT THIS EPOCH — JOHN MOREAU BUILDS MELROSE ABBEY IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY — A FRENCH MASON — GREAT BRITAIN DEPENDS ON GALLIC CRAFTSMEN FOR BUILDERS — WILLIAM OF SENS — MOREAU, MASTER OF SCOTTISH MASONS — ARCHITECTURE CHANGES TO LANCET OR GOTHIC STYLE — BUILDING ART IN GERMANY — CATHEDRALS OF COLOGNE AND STRASSBURG — THE LAST BEGUN BY GREEK ARTISTS — ERWIN OF STEINBACH, THE MASTER BUILDER — HIS DAUGHTER, SABINA, A SKILLED ARCHITECT — CHURCH OF SAINT STEPHEN AT VIENNA.

THE external history of Freemasonry of this age is involved in gloom and uncertainty. In a few instances the master architect has engraved upon lasting walls the visible signs of his superintendence, and with these rare exceptions further traces have escaped the vigilant searches of the most enthusiastic writers. The accounts, which were certainly kept by the cloisters and churches in the erection of sacred edifices, would undoubtedly furnish valuable information, but such records cannot be found.[1] The earliest authentic mural inscription which I have seen, is still in existence at Melrose. According to the following lines on a foundation stone, the abbey was built in the year 1136:

[1] Stieglitz, *Geschichte der Baukunst*, p. 512. Poole, *Ecclesiastical Architecture*, Appendices I. and II., presents two documents relating to an indenture between the Masons and church authorities, for the construction of an abbey, etc., about the fourteenth century; also, Krause, *Kunsturkunden*, Thiel II., Abt. 2, for additional information and authors cited.

Anno milleno, centeno, ter quoque deno,
Et sexto Christi Melross fundata fuisti.

The structure was ten years in process of construction, having been finished in the year 1146. Above the door, on the west side of the transept, is an inscription, to which the name of John Muruo is attached. Another record is hewn on a block of stone, in raised letters, on the south side of the doorway, evidently referring to the same individual, who was the architect, or Master Mason, of the edifice.[1] These tablets are highly interesting, and especially important as a historical monument, showing that as far back as the year 1136, at least, the craft was already organized, under the direction of lay masters. A few of these letters are now almost effaced, but may still be deciphered. From an accurate copy in my possession, I quote a portion of it:

John: Morow: sum: tyme: callyt:
Was: I: and: born: in: Parysse:
Certainly:

It is evident from the foregoing that John Morow, or Muruo, the superintending architect, was a foreigner and a Frenchman, born at Paris. It has hitherto received currency among architectural writers,[2] that William of Sens was the first Master Mason whose works are still extant in Britain. This artist was also a native of France, and is described as *artifex subtilissimus*, — a very skilful artificer. He went to England in the year 1176, in order to reconstruct the cathedral of Canterbury.[3] Lacroix says[4] that

[1] See Part II., chap. xxx., p. 323, on Mason's Marks.

[2] Among others, Paly, *Manual of Gothic Architecture*, p. 211.

[3] Lacroix, *Les Arts au Moyen Age*, p. 368.

[4] L'Angleterre, dès le septième siècle, avait appelé chez elle nos *maîtres de pierre*, nos meilleurs ouvriers et elle continua depuis à en faire autant pour la construction et l'ornamentation de ses plus beaux édifices religieux. Lacroix, *Ibid.*, p. 368.

Great Britain, thus early in the history of Freemasonry, seems to have depended upon foreign artisans to erect churches and abbeys.[1] Norman and French master builders restored the cloisters of Croyland, Warmouth, and York, already rich in Byzantine and French sculpture.[2]

Foreigners conducted the principal architectural works of England at this and later periods; and the first known Master of Masons there was John Morow, a Parisian, who, according to the indisputable attestation of the partially decayed inscription, which I have transcribed, had already laid the foundations of Melrose Abbey in the year 1136, and completed that building, now in melancholy ruins, in 1146, just thirty years prior to the arrival of William of Sens, in the year 1176. Of Master John Morow we possess little additional information. From the same partially obliterated tablet it appears that he was the Master, perhaps General or Grand Master, of all the Masonic work or lodges at Saint Andrew's, around the cathedral of Glasgow, and at the churches of Paslay, Niddisdale, and Galway.[3] Now it is equally clear that at these several edifices there were Masons at work, who, according to the united evidence of trustworthy historians,[4] usually, when in great numbers, labored in lodges; therefore the deduction is rational and direct, that there were lodges of

[1] Vide Hope, *Essay on Architecture*, chap. xxxvii., where it is candidly stated that England was deluged with French architects from the period of the Norman conquest till ages after.

[2] Lacroix, *ut supra, loc. cit.*

[3] John: Morow: sum: tyme: callyt:
———: and: had: in: keeping: al:
mason: werk: of: Santandrays:
ye: hye: kirk: of: Glasgow: Melrose:
and: Paslay: of Nyddysdayll:
and: of: Galway: I: pray: to: God:
and: Mary: baith and: sweet: st:
John: keep: this: haly: Kirk:
fra: skaith:

[4] More of this subject hereafter.

Masons employed upon the above buildings. If, then, John Morow were the master of all this work, or of these lodges, he was possessed of a jurisdiction over an indefinite number of subordinate bodies, and was, in a word, the General or Grand Master. I should infer that his name, correctly written, was *Moreau*, from the circumstance that it is once engraved *Muruo*, which is nearly an English corruption of the first; and in addition to this, he informs us that "he was sometimes called *Morow*," signifying that this name was merely accorded him by the people among whom he was domiciled, whose accentuation had modified Moreau into Murow or Muruo.

The fine arts in England were much indebted to William of Sens. He first introduced the chisel at the rebuilding of the Canterbury cathedral.[1] In the preparation of free-stone for building purposes, up to this time, the adze had been used. His inventive talent constructed the turning-machine and modelled planes.[2] An accident terminated the active life of this great artist, in a most tragical manner. A scaffolding, which had been erected in the progress of the repairs to the cathedral, yielded to the pressure upon it, and precipitated William of Sens to the ground, with stones and timber accompanying his fall.[3] Although seriously injured, and confined to his bed, he was enabled, by the assistance of another Master of Masons, to have his plans duly executed. Failing, however, to regain his former health, he returned to his home in France, for better medical facilities.[4]

About the close of the twelfth century, the style of architecture which has received the appellation of the pointed or lancet style, and which ultimately developed

[1] *Archæologia*, Vol. IX., p. 112.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 113; also, Poole, *Ecclesiastical Architecture in England*, p. 257.

[3] *Archæologia*, Vol. IX., p. 114.

[4] Poole, *Ecclesiastical Architecture*, p. 159. Both Poole and the *Archæologia*, *loc. cit.*, have used Prof. Willis's translation of *Giraldus Cambrensis*, Hist. of the Cathedral at Canterbury.

into the Gothic, became prominent, and every form which could recall the Byzantine was abandoned. The character of this art betrayed itself in the infinite variety of section-work elaborated upon geometrical outlines. Of strictly floriated ornamentation, but little appears. Among the churches of this style, the minster at Magdeburg still remains to attest the purity of art in the beginning of the thirteenth century. This edifice was begun under the auspices of Bishop Adalbert, in the year 1208. History has preserved the name of Bausak, who was the master builder of the work.[1] One of the most notable structures of this epoch is the cathedral at Cologne. This city seems to have possessed a minster as early as the time of Charlemagne. In the year 1162, Frederick I., in order to signalize his victory over the Milanese, presented to this church a costly sarcophagus, containing the relics of the three holy canonized kings of the East. This sacred object attracted many noblemen and rich princes, who, together with others equally pious, greatly enriched the cathedral with large sums of money. In order that these gifts might be suitably appropriated, it was decided to erect a minster, which should correspond to the dignity and importance of such a monument. Engelbrecht, archbishop of Cologne, desired to undertake the construction, but his death, in the year 1225, rendered nugatory the design. A conflagration in 1228 destroyed the old cathedral, and in the same year the archbishop, Count of Hochsteben, began a new edifice, the construction of which progressed slowly until the year 1322, when the choir was consecrated. This choir is the only finished portion of the structure. At various intervals the work upon it was resumed, until the sixteenth century, when it ceased.[2]

[1] Bischoff Adalbert unternahm, im Yahr 1208, einen neuen Bau, dessen Baumeister Bausak heisz. Stieglitz, *Geschichte der Baukunst*, p. 547.

[2] In the year 1872, when the author was at Cologne, the work of completing the minster was again proceeding.

Few names of the artists who labored at the building of the cathedral have come down to our time — even the architect who planned this mighty fabric is unknown. The name of Gebhard, who was a master of the workmen, has, however, been rescued from oblivion.[1]

No structure of this age has been the subject of so many eulogistic praises as the Strassburg cathedral. According to Stieglitz,[2] the original foundation of the minster dates back to the time of Chlovis I., who caused a small edifice of timber, in the year 504, to be erected. Through the influence of Charlemagne, in 798, the choir was constructed of stone. But this structure was subsequently destroyed, and Bishop Werner was the first who summoned experienced operatives to draught the plans for a new building. The foundation was laid in the year 1015, no doubt by Grecian architects,[3] and the choir was erected in 1028. After the bishop's demise, for a time, further work ceased. It subsequently progressed slowly to a completion of the nave in the year 1275. The names of various masters who hitherto conducted the plans and directed the artificers upon this cathedral are not known, but the image of one builder, who presided over the work on the nave, is still visible in the interior of the building on the transept wall.[4] This edifice is understood to present the finest specimens of Gothic or Germanic architecture, which attained its fullest perfection towards the close of the thirteenth century. At this period, in the year 1277, Erwin, of Steinbach, in conjunction with other master builders, laid the foundation for

[1] Stieglitz, *Geschichte der Baukunst*, p. 567. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 572.

[3] Luebke, *Geschichte der Architectur*, p. 253, is authority for the statement that Greek architects were brought to Germany in the eleventh century, by Bishop Meinwerk.

[4] Das Bildniss des einen, der der Arbeit am Langhause vorstand, hat sich im Innern des Münsters an der Mauer des einen Kreuz Kreuzflügels, erhalten. Stieglitz, *ut supra*, p. 573.

further additions to the cathedral, and resumed the completion of unfinished portions of the work. Erwin beautified some parts of the older building, among others, the portal on the south side. What, however, is most singular and deeply interesting in reference to its connection with the history of Freemasonry, is the undoubted authenticity of the allegation that Sabina,[1] a daughter of Erwin von Steinbach, rendered her father valuable assistance in preparing, with her own hands, several columns, which constitute the chief ornament of the doorway referred to.[2] It would seem, from this fact, that the fair architect had received instruction in the secret arts, which at this time in Germany were the almost exclusive property of a fraternity of builders obligated to profound secresy, and subject to severe penalties in case of disobedience. If this be correct, a woman, so early as the thirteenth century, "had been made a Freemason." After Erwin's death, in the year 1318, his son John proceeded with the work, and faithfully adhered to his father's plans, as evidenced by a portion of the same still preserved on parchment in the archives of the minster. On the decease of this master builder, his successors abandoned the original designs of Erwin, which a want of harmony between the two sections of architecture manifestly shows.

[1] The curious reader may find some additional facts in Krause, *Die Drei ältesten Kunsterkunden*, Bd. II., Abt. 2, p. 241, and authorities cited.

[2] Stieglitz, *Geschichte der Baukunst*, p. 573. A majority of mediæval guilds freely admitted women to share the privileges of membership. In case of the admission of a member's wife, the fees of entrance were reduced, but an unmarried woman paid the same price as the men. See *Return of the Guild of Gallkhith*, made in the year 1389, published in Smith's *English Guilds*, No. 1. York Lodge, Eng., possesses a manuscript of the year 1693 containing regulations for the craft, in which the following appears:

> "Thee one of the elders takeing the Booke
> And that *hee* or *shee* that is to be made Mason," etc.

I have seen this manuscript, and believe it correctly printed by Hughan, *Old Masonic Charges*, p. 15.

Steinbach's son John was succeeded by other masters, who pushed the work with great activity, until John Hültz, a master of Cologne Masons, about the year 1439, brought the south tower to completion. In the year 1494, the minster received a new portal on the north side, wrought out by John of Landshut, which is justly celebrated on account of its delicate workmanship.[1]

Another masterpiece of Gothic or Teutonic art, the work of mediæval Freemasons, is visible in the church of Saint Stephen at Vienna. Originally founded in 1144, about the middle of the thirteenth century it was partially destroyed by fire. In the year 1359 the foundations of the principal towers which adorn the cathedral were laid, under the superintendence of a master builder by the name of Winzla. Hans Buchsbaum, as supervising architect, completed one of these in 1433. This master carried forward the construction of other portions of the edifice. At his death, in the year 1459, Anton Pilgram assumed his duties. On one of the columns to the rear of the chancel, a sculptured portraiture of Master Buchsbaum is still visible. This dexterous artist furnished the workmanship for this chancel, and presided over a lodge of skilled operatives, who worked out the details in accordance with his plans.[2] The church of Saint Lawrence, at Nürnburg, is preëminently the handiwork of German architects. Founded in 1274, it was successively enlarged by additions until the year 1419, when the choir foundations were laid, and in 1422 it was completed. Conrad Wintzer, of Regensburg, furnished the diagrams, and his cousin, Hans Bauer, of Ochsenfurt, as master of the builders, executed the plans.[3]

[1] Stieglitz, *Geschichte der Baukunst*, p. 574. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 576.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 581.

CHAPTER IX.

CONSTRUCTIVE ART IN ITALY — CATHEDRAL AT PISA BUILT BY EASTERN ARCHITECTS — BUSCHETTO, MASTER BUILDER — ITALIAN CRAFTSMEN OF THIS EPOCH — ECCLESIASTIC OR DOMINICAN MASONS — TEUTONIC MASTERS IN ITALY — BRIDGE-BUILDERS — GUILDS OF FREEMASONS OR STONECUTTERS IN FLORENCE — FRA GUILELMO WORKS IN A MASONIC LODGE AT SANTA CROCE — GERMAN MASTERS — LODGE OF MASONS AT ORVIETO IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY — ITALIAN MAGISTRI LAPIDUM — GENERAL OR GRAND MASTER ARCHITECT OF THE FLORENTINE CAMPANILE — ITALY IMITATES THE ARCHITECTURE OF GERMANIC MASTERS, IMPORTED THITHER TO CONSTRUCT CATHEDRALS.

AT the close of the tenth century, Italy was so far behind the nations of the North that when, in the year 976, Venice, or rather Pierre Orseola, conceived the project of rebuilding Saint Marc's, Grecian artists were imported to lay the foundations.[1] Scarcely had Venice finished its cathedral, when Pisa desired to have one also. Several Tuscan vessels, launched upon the sea for other conquests than those of war, brought from Greece an infinite number of monuments, statuettes, bas-reliefs, chapters, columns, and divers fragments of Oriental workmanship. The enthusiasm became general.

[1] En 977 Venise, jetait les fondaments de la basilique de Saint Marc, bâtie par des architectes qu'elle avait appelés de la Grèce. Emeric David, *Histoire de la Peinture au Moyen Age*, p. 85. Lacroix, *Les Arts au Moyen Age*, p. 360, says this cathedral was begun in 976, by Pierre Orseols, doge de Venise, qui se vit obligé de faire venir des architectes et des artistes de Constantinople. According to Daru, *Histoire de Venise*, St. Marco was erected upon the foundations of a church previously destroyed.

In the year 1016, or 1063, according to David,[1] Buschetto, who had accompanied this precious cargo, superintended the construction of the cathedral.[2] This artist, nobly encouraged, formed, it is alleged, an institution or lodge of sculpture, which was perpetuated during one hundred and fifty years, and which ultimately produced the distinguished artisan, Nicholas Pisano, who had the honor, by his influence, to reëstablish in Italy the more essential rules of art.[3]

The disciples of Buschetto, accepting the commanding impulses of their master, transfused his ideas into building art, which rapidly spread throughout the peninsula. Under their active zeal, the cathedrals of Amalfi, of Pistoja, Sienna, and Lucca, were constructed in a style which betrays a Byzantine influence totally opposed to the semi-Gothic minster of Milan.[4] Nicholas Pisano, towards the close of the twelfth century, had, by an assiduous study of the remnants of antique sculpture, opened the surest way to a full development of sound principles and the perfecting of an accurate taste. Nicholas attained to a high degree of skill as a plastic artist. Marchione, who

[1] *Histoire de la Peinture au Moyen Age*, p. 115; Vasari, *Proem. delle Vite dei Pittori e Architetti*, Tomo I., p. lxxij., etc., says the foundations of the Pisan cathedral were laid in 1016, but the time assigned by David, in the text above, is supported by Von Raumer, *Geschichte der Hohenstaufen*, Bd. VI., p. 491. Milizia, *Memorie degli Architetti antichi e moderni*, Tomo IV., p. 134, has followed Vasari's date. Also so assigned by Lacroix, *Les Arts, etc.*, p. 366. David, *ut supra*, p. 115, says that Buschetto était un des artistes grecs les plus habiles de son temps, but, Von Raumer, *loc. cit.*, denies the Byzantine nativity of that architect. Milizia, *Ibid.*, maintains the Grecian birth of the Pisan churchbuilder. As we have already shown from Mueller, *Archæologie der Kunst*, p. 224, Greek artists were in constant intercourse with their native land until a late period of the Middle Ages. There is, therefore, every reason to assume that Buschetto, as many other Eastern architects at this epoch, found, in the growing state of Western art, a readier and more lucrative employment for his artistic talents than was offered in the rapidly declining empire of Byzantium.

[2] Lacroix, *Les Arts au Moyen Age*, p. 366.

[3] Emeric David, *Histoire de la Peinture au Moyen Age*, p. 115.

[4] Lacroix, *Les Arts au Moyen Age*, p. 366.

was his rival, has left his name hewn upon the portal of the church at Arezzo, erected in the year 1216.[1] Giovanni,[2] a son of Nicholas Pisano, was also distinguished as a master builder, and in abandoning the stilted types which had prevailed for many ages, elevated architectural art above a dry, mechanical execution, and, by imparting that individuality and idealistic expression which, already obtained among the German stonecutters, indicated the way to sublime conceptions in accordance with natural rules. Among the more distinguished pupils who worked under the instruction of this celebrated master, are enumerated Agostino of Sienna and Giotto, the latter of surpassing dexterity both as architect and sculptor, whose name and works Dante has consigned to undying immortality.[3] Florence, as a city of fine arts, became one of the central points of architecture and statuary.[4]

The earliest cultivators of the fine arts of whom the history of the preacher monks[5] makes mention, were two religious brethren, Fra Sisto and Fra Ristoro, members of the convent of Santa Maria Novella; the former was a native of Florence, the latter was born seven miles distant from that city. According to the conjecture of Marchese,[6] founded upon the necrologium of the cloister, they were born between the years 1220 and 1225, fifteen or twenty years prior to Cimabue. From whom they obtained their instruction in architectural art is uncertain. It is sup-

[1] Lacroix, *Ibid.*, p. 370; Tiraboschi, *Storia della Lett. Ital.*, Tomo IV., p. 491.

[2] Vasari, *Vite dei Pittori e Architetti*, Tomo I., p. 262, awards unusual praise to this master builder; also Tiraboschi, *ut supra*, p. 492.

[3] Ed ora ha Giotto il grido,
Si che fama di colúi oscura.
Dante, *Purgatorio*, Canto XI., st. 96.

[4] Lacroix, *Les Arts au Moyen Age*, p. 371; Machiavelli, *Istorie Fiorentine*, Tomo I., pp. 402-3. Further in this connection, Maffei, *Storia Letteratura Italiana*, Lib. I., cap. i., and Balbo, *Vita di Dante*, Lib. I., cap. i. and ii.

[5] The Dominicans were justly renowned as architects. Luebke, *Geschichte der Plastik*, p. 451.

[6] *Vie dei Pittori Scultori e Architetti Domenicani*, Tomo I., p. 31.

posed, however, that Nicholas Pisano contributed, in some degree, to their artistic knowledge. The two most celebrated architects, who divided the highest attainments in this art at that period, were Nicholas of Pisa and a master builder named Jacopo.[1] The latter of these was a *German*,[2] and, early in the thirteenth century, constructed the church and convent of San Francisco, at Assisi, and erected, according to his own diagrams, the church of San Salvadore. If we may give credence to the assertion of Marchese,[3] Fra Sisto and Fra Ristoro profited by the example and counsels of the German stonemason, Jacopo. The earliest essay of these young master architects was in the rebuilding of certain bridges, which had been destroyed in consequence of heavy inundations caused by the Arno overflowing its banks.[4] It is stated that the stone columns used in the construction of these bridges, were placed into position with such mathematical skill, that they resisted the deluging rainstorms of 1282–4–8. In the year 1256, Fra Sisto and Fra Ristoro, with whom a third monk was associated, Fra Domenico by name, in connection, it is said, with other operative masons or stonecutters, assisted in erecting the cathedral of Santa Novella.[5] In the construction of this second edifice, Fra Sisto and Fra Ristoro were selected as masters of the work. Under the superintendence of these brethren, other excellent Masons aided in the building, who, as assistant

[1] Marchese, *Ibid.*, p. 31.

[2] Vasari, *Vite dei Pittori e Architetti*, Tomo I., p. 251, boldly asserts the German nativity of Jacopo, and designates the style of architecture employed in building the above church as *Opus Theutonicum*. Tiraboschi, *Storia della Letteratura Italiana*, Tomo IV., p. 490, does not, however, accede willingly to this statement.

[3] *Vie dei Architetti, etc.*, Tomo I., p. 32.

[4] This fact is also mentioned by Tiraboschi, *Storia della Letteratura Italiana*, Tomo IV., p. 491, who also says that subsequently they constructed the inferior vault of the Vatican palace at Rome.

[5] Parecchi altri loro confratelli, excellenti muratori e scarpelini, condussero la fabbrica. Marchese, *ut supra*, p. 44.

supervisors of the work and directors of the details of labor, exhibited great proficiency in architecture. These belonged to the same convent, and were ecclesiastics. We are informed by the writer,[1] whom we have closely followed, that the building was so exclusively the handicraft of ecclesiastical operatives, that but one other instance is on record, viz., the church and monastery of Dunes, which the Cistercian fathers constructed entirely with their own hands.[2] The church of Santa Novella, in a striking degree, is the embodiment of perspective art. The building is in the form of a Latin cross — a favorite plan in those ages — and by the successful combination of diminishing and contracting arches, which support the roof, tapering to the ends, presents a deceptive vista. These monks were regarded, by their Italian contemporaries, among the most proficient artists of that era.[3]

The religious fervor which swept through Italy early in the thirteenth century, under the dexterous manipulation of the Dominican monks assumed the form of a pious frenzy for building and consecrating sacred edifices. Men and women were inspired by a zeal to promote this object to such extent, that they transported with their own hands much material for the construction of a church and convent at Bologna, in the year 1233. Of the work itself, Fra

[1] Marchese, *Ibid., loc. cit.*, senza l'intervento di alcun artifice secolare. This will serve to show how thoroughly skilled the monastic brethren became, and how completely the building art was known to the clerics even so late as the opening of the thirteenth century, at a period when builders were organized into lay corporations and had left the monasteries.

[2] I Padri Cicerstensi fiamminghi ce ne porgono un consimile esempio, i quali nella fabbrica della chiesa e monastero di Dunes non adoperarano che artifici propri. Milizia, *Memorie degli Architetti antichi e moderni.* Lib. II., cap. 2; also, Marchese, *Vie dei Architetti*, Tomo I., p. 44.

[3] In the conventual necrologue cited by Marchese, *ubi supra*, p. 52, Fra Ristoro is thus spoken of: "hic fuit maximus architectus," and "una cum fratre Sixto, fecerunt nostram ecclesiam tanto siquidem artificio, ut usque hodie sit in admirationem." Two of the Florentine churches, the Duomo and Santa Croce, have well-defined Masonic marks, to which reference will be made hereafter. Vide Part II., cap. 30, etc.

Jacopino, a Dominican by profession, was selected as master builder.[1] The enthusiasm displayed for the erection of houses of divine worship at this time in Perugia, drew together a vast number of master architects, stonecutters, and others, who were thoroughly qualified to preside over the operatives. It would appear, however, that the great mass of labor was performed by the Dominicans themselves. Three lay architects are designated by Marchese[2] as remarkably skilled in Masonic labors at this period in Tuscany, viz., Mazzetto, Borghese, and Albertino Mazzanto, the second of whom was an apprentice under the mastership of Fra Sisto and Fra Ristoro. Borghese, who was born in Florence, in the year 1250, also received instruction in the mysteries of Masonic art under the direction of a master architect named Ugolino. And when, in the year 1284 or thereabouts, the master builders at the church of Santa Maria Novella were ordered to Rome to labor in the construction of the Vatican,[3] Master Borghese was found competent to assume the direction of the workmen, in conjunction with Albertino, another master mason.[4] According to Lacroix,[5] numerous guilds of Masons were assembled at Florence towards the close of the thirteenth century,

[1] Et tunc frater Jacobinus superstabat ad laboreia praedicta facienda. Muratori, *Rer. Ital. Script.*, Tomo VIII., p. 1108. Also Marchese, *ubi supra*, p. 54, etc.

[2] Con l'opera di tre laici architetti di quello stesso convento. *Vie dei Architetti, etc.*, Tomo I., p. 54. The preceding citation is of great significance, as showing that in Italy, in 1233, there were lay architects or Master Masons still domiciled under the control of particular church organizations. Of Borghese, the author quoted, says: Dei quali soltanto il seconde, potè essere allievo di Fra Sisto e Fra Ristoro. *Ibid.*, p. 55.

[3] Tiraboschi, *Storia della Letteratura Italiana*, Tomo IV., p. 491.

[4] Marchese, *Vie dei Architetti*, Tomo I., p. 59. From the convent necrologue we learn that this artist was the son of a celebrated architect: filius olim magistri Ugolini Carpentarii.

[5] Vers la fin du treizième siècle au Florence se rennissaient les confréries, etc. *Les Arts au Moyen Age*, p. 371. See Machiavelli, *Istorie Fiorentine*, Tomo I., p. 402, etc.

and were employed in the construction of churches and other public edifices. At this period Fra Guilelmo, who had received the rudiments of artistic knowledge from his distinguished master, Nicholas Pisano, was not only renowned as an architect, but attained to an exalted celebrity by reason of the exquisite workmanship which he displayed as a stonecutter on the arch of San Dominico, at Bologna.[1] On the 13th of November, in the year 1290, the foundation stone of the cathedral at Orvieto was laid, amid imposing and solemn rites, conducted by his holiness the Pope, Nicholas IV. Lorenzo Maitani, a native of Sienna, draughted the designs, and was declared master architect of the work. It being desired that this temple should shine with all the resplendent effulgence of art, from all parts of Italy the most efficient artists were invited to assist in its construction. In obedience to the mandate, skilled artificers to the number of forty assembled in Orvieto; among those whose names are mentioned as unusually expert, are Arnolfo[2] and Fra Guilelmo; the name of the latter stands registered in the cathedral memorial of the year 1293. Arnolfo, early in the year 1294, abandoned Orvieto in order to assist in laying the corner-stone of the Santa Croce[3] church in Florence, the plans and design of which he had prepared. Guilelmo, according to the record of the operatives quoted by Marchese,[4] worked in a lodge designed for sculptors and stone-

[1] Guilelmo Pisano, in addition to his Masonic excellence, distinguished himself by the secret theft of one of St. Dominic's ribs, which, by mediæval religious superstition, was invested with supernal powers. This petty crime. Marchese, *Vie dei Architetti*, Tomo I., p. 87, dignifies as a pious fraud, — pio furto.

[2] Vasari, *Vite dei Architetti e Pittori*, Tomo I., p. 254, says it was believed that Arnolfo was the son of the celebrated Master Mason Jacopo, above mentioned. See Tiraboschi, *Storia della Letteratura*, Tomo IV., pp. 489–491.

[3] Tiraboschi, *ut supra*, p. 491. In the niches on one of the façades of the minster, are life-size figures in Masonic attitudes.

[4] Sotto l'anno 1293, egli lavorava nella loggia destinata agli scultori e egli scarpellini. *Vie dei Architetti, etc.*, Tomo I., p. 90.

cutters. Among the artificers employed in other lodges of workmen who labored in the erection of the temple at Orvieto, were a German and a Flemish artist.[1] Fazio, an apprentice of Guilelmo, named in the conventual roll of Santa Caterina, of Pisa, is referred to as a layman and *magister sculpture*. By the assiduous labors of the Dominican artisans and master architects, the church of Saints John and Paul, at Venice, which was commenced in 1246, advanced rapidly to completion during a few years; but the necessary contributions failing, labor ceased until the year 1395, when, moved by an extraordinary zeal, twenty thousand florins were donated by an enthusiastic people, and this structure, one of the most elegant in Venice, was finished. Late in the thirteenth century the foundations were laid for a Dominican church in Milan, the construction of which was superintended by masters of that order. It was completed in 1309. As a noteworthy fact, it is stated that the first clock for public use in Italy was placed in the bell-tower of Saint Eustorgis, in this city (Milan), in the year 1306.

There is every reason to assume that guilds of Masons were already established in Italy, on a solid basis, during the thirteenth century. The first modern building fraternities[2] in Italy of which history has preserved a notice, were in existence at Sienna and Orvieto. At Orvieto, as we have already shown, a builders' lodge was held, while work was in progress on the cathedral there, in the year 1290. Stieglitz[3] asserts that a lodge of Masons existed in this place[4] while at labor on the minster, and that they were under

[1] Marchese, *Vie dei Architetti, loc. cit.*

[2] I use the word "modern" in the above connection in order to distinguish between the mediæval builders and the Byzantine corporations.

[3] *Geschichte der Baukunst*, p. 607. He refers to Cicagnara, *Storia della Scultura*, Tomo I., p. 363, as authority for the statement that building corporations are first mentioned in the thirteenth century.

[4] An dem letzeren Orte (Orvieto) bildete sich eine Baulοge bei dem Baue des Domes, deren Haupt im Anfange des dreizehnten Yahrhunderts, ein Deutscher war, Peter Johannes. Stieglitz, *Ibid.*

the jurisdiction of a German master named Peter Johannes, and moreover that there were other Germans in this Lodge.[1] Upon what authority this is asserted, I know not.[2] Marchese, who, so far as the history of architecture in Italy in the Middle Ages is concerned, is incontestably entitled to greater weight, informs us that the foundation of the Orvieto cathedral was laid in the year 1290. He mentions the name of a Giovanni (Johannes) Pisano, who worked there, but asserts that Lorenzo Maitani was the master who had jurisdiction, and the only foreign artificers employed were of German and Flemish nativity — one of each.[3]

[1] The word LODGE is, perhaps, immediately derived from the Norman-French, and was apparently imported into England by French artists shortly after the conquest. *Loggia*, Italian, is evidently closely allied to the French *loge*. Vitruvius uses the word *logeum* to signify the small enclosed space where actors stood to repeat their *rôles*, and is identical with our modern *pulpitum*. Du Cange, *Glossarium Med. et Infi. Lat.* sub voce *logium*, gives it the same meaning as *aedes*, *habitato*, *domicilium*, or dwellings, and says the houses of the ancient Gauls were called *logia*. Fecit logias, magnae habilitatis ad aulas in capellam. And eorum *logiæ* quando dormient seu quiescent. *Ibid.* Merchants designated the place where their wares were exposed for sale as *logia*. In the mediæval metrical romance of Kyng Alisander, the word occurs to describe a tent or temporary resting-place, which was, no doubt, its signification among the nomadic Freemasons:

> "Alisaunder doth crye wyde,
> His logges set on the water syde,"

V. 4925. Chaucer uses this word in *Canterbury Tales*: "Full sikerer was his crowing in his loge." The Anglo-Saxon *loca*, whence lock signifies an enclosure as a guard or preserve. Beowulf, V. 1106 ed. Thorpe, *Glossary, sub voce*. *Hütte*, the Teutonic word for *lodge*, possesses nearly the same meaning as the Saxon *loca*, and is a derivative of *hüten*, to guard, to surround for preservation. *Hat*, German *hut*, head-guard or protector, and *hütte*, an enclosed space for protection, a building to guard or preserve against, and *loca*, loge, are identical in signification. Hughan, *Constitutions*, p. xxiii., for early English word *loge* of A. D. 1370.

[2] Perhaps on the authority of Vasari, *Vite degli Architetti*, Tomo I., pp. 244–251.

[3] Marchese, *Vie dei Architetti*, Tomo I., p. 90. Di tutti qui tedeschi recordati dal Vasari come occupati en scolpire marmi per quella basilica, non fu travato memoria nell 'archivo della fabbrica, che di solo allemano e di un fiammingo. See Tiraboschi, *Storia della Letter. Ital.*, Tomo IV., p. 492, note (a), for some remarks touching German artists in Italy at this period.

At the beginning of the fourteenth century, the work on the Santa Maria Novella church, in Florence, which had steadily progressed up to that time, was pushed on with great rapidity by two lay architects, Giovanni da Campo and Jacopo Talenti, the first of whom was educated in the fine arts by Arnolfo, one of the masters, as we have seen, working with Fra Guilelmo in Orvieto. Jacopo Talenti appears to have labored at the building of the Orvieto temple, as mention is made of a certain Francesco Talenti, a Florentine, who, in the year 1327, was enrolled among the recorded lists of stonecutters and sculptors, with the pay of a master mason, and who was in fact denominated as one of the masters of the architects employed in the lodges. The usual alteration made in assuming monastic vows will account for such change of names. In the convent necrologue of the Dominicans, Jacopo is designated as *magister lapidum*, master mason, a title which was generally assigned to sculptors and stonecutters of that age. A brother or nephew of Jacopo, who worked in the construction of the library of Santa Maria Novella, is also called master mason.[1] The floriated and exquisitely chiselled chapters of the columns, together with the ornamentation on the antique portals and windows of this church, are the undoubted handiwork of Jacopo. On the death of Albertino, Giovanni da Campo assumed the entire mastership of the work, with the aid and counsel of Jacopo. Under their united direction this edifice was completed in 1357. Master Giovanni superintended the Dominican masons and stonecutters at Florence in the erection of public buildings in that city. Perhaps the finest effort of this celebrated architect was the stone bridge over the river Arno, which he constructed with consummate skill. While Giovanni directed the work on the structures of the republic, Jacopo Talenti and other

[1] In qualita di muratore un maestro Giovanni Talenti. Marchese, *Vie dei Architetti, etc.*, Tomo I., p. 119, note (1).

Dominican artists, were intently engaged on the churches and convents.[1] In accordance with the designs of Fra Sisto and Fra Ristoro, they finished, in the year 1330, the great *campanile* or bell-tower of Florence. These artists, the year following, brought to a termination the erection of the marvellous chapel of Saint Nicholas, and its classical sacristan, which was elaborately frescoed with scenes by Spinello di Arezza, representative of the life of Christ. Ottaviano Rustici, who was the chief or general master architect of the work, is especially mentioned as deeply versed in architectural art. Under the direction of Talenti, two operatives, members of the same convent, labored as master masons, viz., Laopo Bruschi and Francesco da Carmignano.

By an unexpected inundation of the river Arno, on the 12th of April, 1334, the foundation walls of the old Dominican convent were rendered unsafe, and the building, in consequence, became uninhabitable. Among those who materially assisted to erect a larger and more elegant cloister for the unfortunate monks, Giovanni Infangati signalized himself, both by voluntary contributions towards the expenses involved in its construction, and by the inestimable service afforded by a fraternity of builders, who, under his supervision, built the south wing. Amid the fervent zeal which distinguished the progress of the erection of this monastery, the renowned master builder, Giovanni da Campi, full of years and honors, in the year 1339, ceased to exist. A pupil, or rather apprentice, of Giovanni, is referred to in the conventual roll[2] of the dead brethren, as skilled in architectural workmanship. He labored as a builder with the craftsmen in the construction of Santa Maria Novella, under the management

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 135. Designated as "Altri architetti e muratori Domenicani."

[2] *Necrologium*, No. 321, from Marchese, *ut supra*, p. 143: nam cum esset optimus lignorum faber et carpentarius perutilis multa et magna edificiorum perfecit in diversis conventibus, etc.

of Talenti, and, like this illustrious artist, he fell a victim before the great pestilence which, according to Boccaccio,[1] made its appearance and raged with great violence in 1340. This terrible disorder, which destroyed so many lives in Tuscany, also ravaged the Dominican cloister. Among the number, amounting to eighty, who succumbed to the disease in this convent, a large proportion were already noted as skilled builders. Of these, Master Fillipo had attained to a high degree of dexterity as a mason; Matteo Guiducci is praised for his ability and industry in architectural handicraft, and Giacoma di Andrea had already made himself illustrious by his skill in the finer details of stonecutting, wood-carving, and glass work.[2]

German or Gothic architecture in the thirteenth century had extended throughout nearly all the countries of Europe, with the exception of Italy, and even there a mixed style, involving the Teutonic, seems to have largely prevailed. This admixture of Gothic and Byzantine is clearly visible in the church of San Francisco, at Assisi; the exchange building at Bologna; in the Domes of Sienna, Orvieto and Spoleto, and also in the Fontaine Branda, of Sienna. As we have previously seen, in a majority of the places mentioned, German artificers were employed in the lodges engaged upon the several edifices. The most striking example of this strange intermingling of the lofty and sublime with the humble and diminutive, is to be seen in the cathedral of Milan, in which, however, the Gothic style generally prevails. Although there is a redundancy

[1] *Il Decameron*, Tomo I., p. 6. The Introduzione to Boccaccio's Novels contains a vivid account of this epidemic. It was during the height of the terrible pestilence that the tales which compose the *Decameron* were supposed to be related by a party of ladies and gentlemen, who fled the city to avoid the plague. This work is said to be the earliest of modern novels. See Tiraboschi, *Storia della Lett. Italiana*, Tomo V., p. 563.

[2] Fra Giacoma di Andrea fiorentino, converso, ha lode di perito nei lavori in pietra, in legno e in vetro. Fra Laopo Bruschi operato nella fabbrica del cappellone di San Niccolò. Marchese, *Vie dei Architetti*, Tomo I., pp. 144–5.

of painted arches, tapering pilasters, and sloping turrets, yet the Italian forms everywhere obtrude themselves upon the notice. Italy has servilely imitated the delicate elaboration of details of German architecture, without catching an inspiration from the genuine spirit which produced it. Everywhere throughout this country the entire category of sacred edifices displays but the simple horizontal principle of building science. Towards the close of the fourteenth century, in the year 1386, Duke Galeazzo Visconti laid the foundation of the Milan cathedral. The original diagrams, which are said to be still preserved in Milan, are uniformly ascribed to a German artist. Heinrich Arler, of Germuenden, to whom the Italians give the nomenclature of Gamodeo, was, it is alleged,[1] the master builder who drafted the plans. Other German artists were called by Visconti to Milan to assist in building the dome and its arches. The first who came were Johannes Fernach, of Freiburg, and Ulrich of Freisingen. In the year 1486, the Duke stipulated with a master workman, named Hammerer, of Strassburg, to construct the cupola crowning the tower.[2] In Rome there are some tabernacles in Gothic style, particularly in the basilika of Saint Paul, Saint Clemens, the churches of Saint Nereus and Saint Achilles. The first of these is the most distinguished for its excellent workmanship. The master builder superintending it is claimed to have been a German, Jacob by

[1] The author of *Il Duomo di Milano*, which is a critical history of the cathedral, published at Milan in 1813, concedes the German nativity of the artist. Hawkins, *History of the Origin of Gothic Architecture*, p. 194, says the architect's name is unknown, and supposes him to be Casa Omedea — perhaps the same as Gamodeo — because there is a portrait of this artist in bas-relief over the choir, with his name beneath it.

[2] Hammerer was selected as master builder of the work: Werkmeister zur Erbanung der Gewölbe. Stieglitz, *Geschichte der Baukunst*, p. 599. Hans Hammerer appears to have been at this period a distinguished Mason among the craft in Germany.

name, whom the Italians designate as Arnolpho Lopc.[1] Naples, also, appears to have been indebted to master builders conversant with the Gothic art, as some edifices in this city possess the pointed Germanic arch.[2]

[1] This is the Arnolfo referred to above, who, it is claimed, was a son of the German builder Jacopo. Tiraboschi, *Storia della Letteratura Ital.*, Tomo IV., p. 491, note (a), denies his foreign birth.

[2] Stieglitz, *Gesch. der Baukunst*, p. 599.

CHAPTER X.

SPANISH BUILDERS — THE NETHERLANDS EARLY RECEIVE THE IMPETUS OF TEUTONIC ART — BUILDERS FROM COLOGNE AND STRASSBURG EMPLOYED THERE — GERMAN MASTERS IN SCANDINAVIA — GERMANY RADIATES GOTHIC TYPES INTO FRANCE — NOTRE DAME DE PARIS BUILT BY JEAN DE CHELLES, MASTER MASON.

SPAIN, in the beginning of the thirteenth century, received the impetus of German art.[1] The cathedrals at Segovia, Toledo, and Burgos are the principal structures of this style — the last is especially distinguished as a master-piece. The foundations of this church were laid in the thirteenth century, and at a later period it was finished by German masons[2] in the Gothic style. These artists were Master Johannes and his son, Simon of Cologne, whom the bishop of Burgos, Alphons, on his return from the ecclesiastical council at Basel, convened in the year 1442, invited to follow him, in order that they might complete the cathedral. This edifice presents a striking similarity with the Cologne

[1] Hope, *Essay on Architecture*, cap. xli.

[2] Hope, *Essay on Architecture*, Vol. I., p. 457, is authority for this assertion. It appears, however, that at the close of the eleventh century (1090–9), French artists were called to Spain to assist in rebuilding church edifices. Luebke, *Geschichte der Architectur*, p. 442. It is probable that the Spanish archbishops were brought in contact with the fraternities of Freemasons through their attendance upon the great church convocations in foreign lands. See Hawkins, *History of the Origin of Gothic Architecture*, p. 148.

minster, and, in many of its details and plans, is identical with the cathedral of Strassburg.[1] These master builders are said to have drafted the diagrams in accordance with which the Carthusian cloister was constructed in the city of Burgos, and, from the similitude[2] in its execution, attests a close unity existing between the Freemasons of Germany and other countries at this epoch. Portugal also possesses a notable specimen of Gothic art in the church of Batalha. It is alleged that this building was founded, towards the close of the fourteenth century, by King John I., who summoned thither a great number of builders[3] to aid in its construction, together with a cloister united to it. Among the architects employed upon this building about the year 1378, the records show the name of one Hacket, a native of Ireland, who was undoubtedly a member of a travelling fraternity of Freemasons, and certainly had not, at that epoch, derived his designs from the land of his birth.[4] Notwithstanding this church, in its details, has an entire Germanic architectural type, there is a singular paucity of ornament.[5] About the middle of the thirteenth century, Portugal[6] seems to have possessed a few religious artificers, who have been handed down to posterity as notably skilled in the fine arts, whose chief works of merit, however, are limited to the construction of stone bridges. Pietro Gonzales, according to whose models a bridge was erected,

[1] Stieglitz, *Geschichte der Baukunst*, p. 594.

[2] Hope, *On Architecture*, p. 463, speaking of the unity of plans existing among the Middle-Age craftsmen, says: "The designs discovered in the archives of German monasteries show the deep science, and the long foresight, and the complicated calculations employed at their execution."

[3] Hope, *Essay, etc.*, p. 457.

[4] Hope, *Essay on Architecture*, Vol. I., p. 457.

[5] Stieglitz, *Geschichte der Baukunst*, p. 594.

[6] Milizia, *Memorie degli Architetti antichi e moderni.* Tomo I., Lib. I., cap. 2. This author, *loc. cit.*, apostrophizes three cleric artisans as sainted architects: tre santi architetti.

labored and assisted himself at the work, furnishing much elaborate handiwork.[1]

Among the structures in Holland and in the Netherlands which betray their Gothic origin and the work of ancient master builders, the city halls at Antwerp, Brussels, Leuven, and Vlissingen may be mentioned as the most distinguished.[2] Other cities, besides those enumerated, in the Low Countries, possess Gothic edifices. The cathedral at Antwerp, which has been frequently highly eulogized for its rich and elaborate architecture, was founded in the year 1422, by Master Johann Aurelius, and completed in 1518. Another important work, carried forward with much zeal by the people of the Low Countries, is the Mechlin cathedral, dedicated to St. Rumoldus. This edifice was begun about the close of the twelfth century; the choir was built during the earlier part of the ensuing century, and the entire church was completed about two hundred years afterwards. A bell-tower was added to this cathedral in the year 1453, but not finished. Gothic churches were also erected in Holland,[3] one of which, at Brussels, of an earlier date than above mentioned, deserves especial reference on account of its elegance. It was commenced in 1226, by the Duke of Brabant, and brought to a conclusion in 1273.

Even as far north as the Scandinavian provinces, and in Northern Europe, German master builders[4] seem to have travelled, creating with their mystical diagrams and models, obtained within closely-tiled lodges of the craft, the airy and elegant fabrics of Gothic architecture. At

[1] Lavorando ei stesso e assistendo come se fosse un manuale. Marchese, *Vie dei Architetti e Pittori Domenici*, Tomo I., p. 63.

[2] Hope, *Historical Essay, etc.*, Vol. I., p. 456, awards a just tribute of praise to the edifices indicated above, and at the expense of his own country.

[3] Hope, *Essay on Architecture*, Vol. I., p. 447.

[4] In the year 1287, Etienne de Bonn, a foreign and perhaps German Master Mason, was called to Scandinavia for the purpose of superintending some constructions. Luebke, *Geschichte der Architecture*, p. 543.

an earlier age, however, Byzantine workmanship was invoked there, to rear sober temples to the living God, as in other portions of the Northern countries. The finest edifice in the Gothic type is at Upsala, in Sweden, which was begun in 1258, and ended in the year 1453, by Erich of Pomerania, master architect.[1]

France yielded to the influence of German art early in the thirteenth century. At the commencement of this epoch, the Roman style, which had gradually merged into the Gothic or Germanic, being liberated from the restraints of primitive types, under the zeal of master builders, approximated to a definitive Christian art.[2] The grand relics of the florid Roman, austere in their greatness and elaborate in their fantastic ornamentation, attest the approaching dawn of individualism in modern architecture. From the twelfth to the thirteenth century — denominated the transitional era — the Roman style, which is distinguished by the fulness of the circular arch, gradually merges into the Gothic or German, the most striking evidence of which is the ogive form, and is its original characteristic. A mixed style of architecture seems, however, to have prevailed in France at this period, in which the Gothic predominates. The churches of Saint Remy, at Rheims, the abbey of Saint Denis, Saint Nicholas, at Blois, the abbey of Jumiéges, and the cathedral of Chalons-sur-Marne, are the principal models of this style.[3] It is noteworthy that, for a long period, the ogive triumphed over the circular arch in Northern France, while in the meridional, Roman traditional types, allied to the Byzantine, still continued to inspire the construction of

[1] Stieglitz, *Geschichte der Baukunst*, p. 598.

[2] Vide Luebke, *Vorschule zum Studium der kirchlichen Kunst*, sec. v. This writer awards the credit of having created the Gothic style to *Northern France. Ibid.*, p. 56.

[3] Hawkins, *History of the Origin of Gothic Architecture*, p. 134; Lacroix, *Les Arts au Moyen Age*, pp. 398–401.

sacred edifices. There remains but little doubt that Germany, with its earliest corps of building fraternities, was the country whose vital forces produced that style of architectural art which we call pointed.[1] Germany, at the epoch under notice, comprehended such portions of France as Alsace and Lorraine, while Franche-Compté, as much appurtenant to Germany as France, formed an independent dukedom in the Low Countries. As we have previously remarked, at this period the arts and sciences had almost entirely passed from the control of the monastic institutions, and were in the possession of builders or Freemasons,[2] regularly organized into oath-bound guilds. To this fact can be ascribed the rapid transmission throughout France of the ogive or pointed arch, which now had become the prevailing style of architecture.[3] A century sufficed to bring the ogival to its highest perfection.

Of the Gallic structures which betray their Gothic origin, the most noticeable are the cathedrals of Rheims, dedicated about 1215, of Bourges, and Amiens. As a specimen cathedral, constructed in the fuller details of German style, that of Notre Dame, of Rouen, affords, perhaps, the finest example.[4] The church of Saint Owen, also of Rouen, was completed in 1318, and may be cited as an edifice erected upon a model of art which, at this era, had permeated Europe. The foundations of the cathedral at Amiens were originally laid in the seventh century, but having been frequently destroyed by fire, it was commenced anew in the year 1220,[5] and finally completed in

[1] Hope, *Historical Essay on Architecture*, Vol. I., p. 450.

[2] Hope, *Essay on Architecture*, Vol. I., p. 450, states, with much vigor and clearness, the causes of the lamentable decay of English architecture at this time, as arising from the unjust discriminations against the Freemasons: "its chief parents and propagators."

[3] Lacroix, *Les Arts au Moyen Age*, p. 402.

[4] Stieglitz, *Geschichte der Baukunst*, p. 593.

[5] Hawkins, *History of the Origin of Gothic Architecture*, p. 142.

1288. Notre Dame, of Paris, finished[1] in 1275, by Jean de Chelles as master builder, and Sainte Chapelle, built under Louis IX., by Pierre de Montereau, in the year 1248, as master of the masons, are of peculiar significance in their historical connection with the Parisian Freemasons and stonecutters, whose associations, as we shall presently see, were recognized by law in 1254, and evidently furnished the work upon the foregoing buildings.

[1] Hope, *Essay, ut supra*, p. 478.

CHAPTER XI.

EARLY HISTORY OF FRENCH MASONS — RULES OF SAINT ELOI PRESERVED IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY — DURATION OF APPRENTICESHIP — BOILEAU, BY ROYAL AUTHORITY, DIGESTS ANCIENT MASONIC LAWS — CANDIDATES MUST CONFORM TO USAGES AND CUSTOMS OF THE CRAFT — NONE OF EQUIVOCAL BIRTH TO BE RECEIVED — GRAND MASTER RECOGNIZED IN 1254 — MASTER MASONS MUST SWEAR BEFORE HIM — NATURE OF MEDIÆVAL OBLIGATION — GRAND MASTER'S POWER TO FORBID THE TRADE TO A DELINQUENT CRAFTSMAN — TOOLS SHOULD BE SEIZED — CONCESSIONS ALLEGED TO BE GRANTED BY CHARLES MARTEL.

FRANCE unqualifiedly possesses the earliest authentic record touching the fraternity of Masons. I have previously stated, upon the authority of Lacroix,[1] that Saint Eloi, whose efforts in behalf of the mechanical trades procured for him the honor of patronage to the guild of smiths in the fifteenth century, had, in the eighth century, organized the monks of his abbey into a society of tradesmen. According to the same author, it would appear that this celebrated bishop established two distinct corporations — one for clerical workmen, the other in which laymen were admitted to membership. When the laws relating to trades were revised, under Louis IX., the statutes promulgated by Saint Eloi, during his lifetime, were merely transcribed and reënacted.[2] So far as the rules affected the admission

[1] *Les Arts au Moyen Age*, pp. 160–162.

[2] Lorsque Étienne Boileau, prévôt de Paris, rédigea son fameux *Livre des métiers*, il n'eut guère qu'à transcrire les statuts des orfévres à peu près tels que les avait institués Saint Éloi. Lacroix, *Ibid.*, p. 163.

of members into the guild of jewellers or goldsmiths, we learn from these laws that an apprentice could not be advanced to the degree of Master until he had duly qualified by an apprenticeship of ten years.[1] At that distant period, the fraternity of goldsmiths was possessed of a seal, in order to attest its authorized works of charity. In the year 1254, Etienne Boileau, who was provost of Paris under the direction of Louis IX., king of France, collected the rules and regulations affecting the various trades of that city, and digested them into manuscript form, entitled, "Reglemens sur Les Arts et Metiers de Paris;" by royal authority they were ordained to be the law, to which all guilds or mechanical occupations in Paris should be henceforth subjected.[2]

These ordinances, in reference to many trades, presuppose an existence long anterior to the time when the statutes referred to were proclaimed by the king as binding upon the citizens of Paris. The forty-eighth chapter of the Boileau manuscript contains the law relating to masons, stonecutters, plasterers, and mortar-mixers, and is, in the highest degree, important as the oldest unquestioned and earliest written record touching the mediæval operative masons and stonecutters. All these were governed by identical regulations, with some important exceptions in favor of the stonemasons, and to which reference will be hereafter made. Among other things referring to these artificers, it is conceded that any one can exercise the occupation of an operative mason in the French capital, provided he may be skilled in the trade, and will unqualifiedly conform to the ancient usages and customs of the fraternity.[3] Then follows the explanation as to the ele-

[1] It will be seen hereafter that the duration of an apprenticeship was usually less than the time mentioned above. Vide Lacroix, *Les Moeurs et Usages*, p. 316; Krause, *Die Drei ældesten Kunsturkunden*, Bd. II., 2 Ab., pp. 277–300.

[2] Pardessus, *Essai Historique sur l'Organization Judiciaire*, p. 251.

[3] Il puet maçon à Paris qui veut, pour tant que il sache le mestier, et qu'il

ments involved in such customs, which are narrated to be, that no master mason shall have in his employ more than one apprentice at the same time, and that such apprenticeship, in no case, can endure longer than six years.[1] An exception, however, is reserved in favor of the master's legitimate children; in that case, he was permitted to have all of them entered as apprentices.[2] On the other hand, he was allowed, at the expiration of the fifth year's service of his pupil, to engage another, in order that he might have the benefit of a more or less skilled workman whenever a full apprenticeship ended. If he violated these rules, or, to speak more in harmony with this digest, the usages and customs of the fraternity, the master of masons was obliged to compensate by an amend of twenty Parisian solidi.[3] This applied to all cases where the term of service was limited to a shorter period of time than six years, or when the master employed more than one apprentice, with the reservation of legitimate issue, as above noted.

So early as the year 1254, the practice seems to have prevailed of appointing a general or Grand Master over the guilds of Masons in Paris. Steinbrenner[4] has taken Anderson to task for asserting that a Grand Master nobly born[5] was frequently selected by royal favor to have authority of the mediæval craftsmen. In addition to the

oevre as us et aus coustumes du mestier qui tel sunt. Boileau, *Livre des Metiers*, Tit. xlviii. In citing these ordinances, I have followed, for convenience, the edition of Depping, A. D. 1837.

[1] Nus ne puet avoir en leur mestier que j apprentis, et se il a apprentis il ne le puet prendre à moins de vj ans de service. *Ibid., op. cit.* In other jurisdictions the master might possess three. Krause, *Kunsturkunden*, Bd. II., Abt. 2, pp. 277–300.

[2] See fils tout seulement nez de loial marriage. *Ibid., ut supra.* Thus early, it would seem, no bastard could become a Mason.

[3] Boileau, *Reglemens sur Metiers*, cap. xlviii. [4] *Origin of Masonry*, p. 112.

[5] Anderson, *Ancient Constitutions*, p. 37, makes use of the following phraseology: "The Grand Master, who was always nobly born, presided at hearings," etc.

case already cited of Morow[1] as grand supervisor of the various lodges under his jurisdiction, Depping, in his introductory essay to the edition of Boileau,[2] asserts that it was in strict accordance with established usage for the French kings, at this period, to confer the patronage or general mastership of Parisian guilds upon the nobility, and as a natural consequence of such privileges, these gentlemen were entitled to all taxes levied upon the associations. Moreover, it is stated, in the most explicit terms, by the compiler of these ordinances, Boileau,[3] that his majesty, Louis IX., had given the mastership of the Masons to Master William de Saint Patre, so long as such appointment should please the royal grantor. It was furthermore enacted that Master William should exercise the mastership of the Masons and stonecutters, within a lodge to be opened inside the palace enclosure, where all matters pertaining to Masonic jurisdiction should be considered and determined by this nobleman. By these regulations, each Grand or General Master was obliged to make oath before the provost of the city, that well and truly, to the best of his ability, both as regarded the rich and poor, the weak and the strong, he would preserve the ordinances thus promulged as long as the king should be satisfied to retain him in the above-mentioned general mastership. This obligation, Boileau says,[4] William de Saint Patre took before the provost of Paris, and within the enclosed

[1] *Supra*, p. 76, etc.

[2] Vide *Introductory Essay*, by Depping, p. lvii., prefixed to his edition of Boileau's *Livre des Metiers;* also, p. 419. There were Grand Masters of forests and waters, according to Pardessus, *L'Organization Judiciaire*, p. 267.

[3] Li Rois qui ore est, cui Deux donist bone vie a doné lá mestrise des maçons a mestre Guill. de Saint-Patre tant come il li plaira. *Livre des Metiers*, Tit. xlviii. I should infer, from the tenor of the ordinance regulating the number of apprentices to be allowed a Grand Master, that a nobleman was not invariably inducted in this responsible position; but, on the contrary, such officer may have been equally skilled in the science of architecture with other master builders.

[4] *Ibid.*, cap. 48.

space around the palace.[1] According to this authority, every Grand Master who had jurisdiction of the Parisian operative Masons, by virtue of the royal concession, was allowed two apprentices, upon exactly the same terms and conditions as a master stonecutter, and in case of transgression of any rules or regulations affecting such apprenticeship, he was subjected to similar penalties.

At this point of my work, I mention a remarkable fact, although it properly belongs to the internal history of the subject. It was permitted, by the ordinance of 1254, that each mason, stonecutter, etc., should have as many assistants and aids in their work as suited them, but it was rigidly forbidden to communicate to such laborers or others any of the secret arts of the trade, however slight the disclosure might be.[2] Each Master of Masons was obliged to swear that he would, with loyalty and in good faith, guard his trade from breaches and innovations, and would faithfully perform all its requirements so far as he might be concerned as an individual Mason; and also, if he should at any time become cognizant of the infringement upon a rule, or that the usages and customs of the fraternity were violated, he would reveal such infraction to the Master whenever it occurred, by the binding force of his obligation.[3]

When apprentices had completed the term of apprenticeship, their masters were obliged to produce them before the General or Grand Master of the craft, and to testify that they had truly and lawfully served the required term;

[1] *Ibid., loc. cit.*

[2] Tuit li maçon, tuit li mortelier, doivent jurer seur sains que il le mestier devant dit garderont et feront bien et loiaument, chascun endroit soi, et que se il scevent que nul il mesprenge en aucuire chose del mestier devant dit, etc. Boileau, *Ibid.*, cap. 48.

[3] This feature incident to the Middle-Age Freemasons was also well recognized at a later period. Plat, *Natural History of Staffordshire*, § 86, ed. 1686, says the craftsmen of his day were sworn to acquaint the master with the "goodness or badness of the materials — that Masonry be not dishonored."

thereupon the grand officer caused the apprentices to swear that they would for all time, and on every occasion, yield obedience to the established usages and customs[1] of the trade. No mason was at liberty to labor on any work when the hour of nine sounded from Notre Dame, during certain religious observances, or when vespers were chanted in the same cathedral, unless it might be necessary to stay an arch or to securely fasten a stone step in a stairway.[2] In case any operative pursued his avocation after the hours designated, except for the foregoing purposes, he should pay a money penalty to the Grand Master of the trade, and this officer was also empowered to seize the working tools of a recalcitrant artificer until satisfaction was rendered.[3] It was, moreover, the duty of the French mason, under his obligation, whenever, in the exercise of his trade, he was brought into contact with plasterers, to inspect their work and to see that the measure of material to be used was in accordance with the proper standard, and if at all suspicious as to the requisite quantity, the plasterer was forced to measure it in his presence. For any deficiency in the amount, a fine was exacted.[4]

Plasterers, who, we have already remarked, were subjected to exactly the same conditions, and under a master, as masons and stonecutters, were obliged, before being admitted to follow their vocations, to pay a license of five solidi to the Master for such privilege, and immediately after payment he took a prescribed oath not to make any deleterious admixture with the plaster, but would use the

[1] Le mestier doit fère jurer à l'aprentis seur sains que il se contendra aus us et as coustumes du mestier bien et leäument. Boileau, *ut supra.*

[2] Boileau, *Reglemens sur Metiers*, cap. xlviii.

[3] Et en puet prendre li mestre les ostieuz at cetui que seroit reprins par l'amende. *Ibid., loc. cit.* Here is an explicit acknowledging of the right to "ratten" a workman's tools for disobedience. Vide Brentano, *On the History and Development of Guilds*, p. cxxvii., for further information connected with this subject.

[4] Boileau, *Livre des Metiers*, cap. 48.

same grade of material and always deliver good and sufficient measure.[1] Whenever it occurred that an artisan disregarded the solemnity of his obligation, it became the Master's duty to suitably chastise him, and to enjoin him from the further prosecution of the trade. Upon the contumacious or contemptuous conduct of any master workman being known to the Grand Master of Masons, he was required by these ordinances to produce the offender before the provost of Paris, whose duty it was to compel him to forswear the trade forever.[2]

The hours of labor seemed to have been regularly fixed for these craftsmen; and it was provided that no operative should abandon his work before the master who directed the same. It was also ordained that any workman failing to present himself at the morning hour, should be fined the sum of four *denari*.[3] In case of failure to pay the amercement before the time of recommencing work, or if he returned to his labor without having liquidated his fine, he was compelled to pay four *denari* additional for the master. Although legislation, as to the hours of commencing work and of its duration, had been regularly digested by Boileau, in his compilation of so remote a date as 1254, there is a still earlier record that other guilds were also required to pay proper attention to the opening and closing of their daily labors. In a charter conceded by Philip Augustus, in the year 1204, to the corporation of weavers at Etampes,[4]

[1] *Ibid., ut supra.*

[2] Doit celui faire forjurer le mestier devant dit. Boileau, *Ibid.* The English Freemasons of the time of Edward III. were also amenable to the law of the land; the officer who executed the necessary decrees against these craftsmen was the sheriff, answering, perhaps, to the prevôt of Paris. Preston, *Illustrations of Masonry*, p. 113.

[3] Boileau, *Ibid.*

[4] Tous les tisserands commenceront et quitteront leur travail a l'heure due. Guizot, *Histoire de la Civilisation en France*, Tome IV., p. 331. This association was permitted by law to elect *prudhommes*, who were invested with the power of petty justice over the weavers. Prior to entering upon the duties of office, an obligation of fairness and fidelity was exacted of them.

it was ordered, among other things, that all laborers should begin and cease work at a certain time.

At Paris, the General Master of the Masons was empowered, by virtue of his office, to compel a compensation to be paid for each and every quarrel which arose between the members of the guild, and in case the operative, by whom such payment was adjudged to be made, proved rebellious and resisted the due execution of the award, the Master could forbid him the future exercise of his trade. If he, nevertheless, persisted in his contumacy, the master of the work was privileged to seize his tools; and as a final resort, other punishment being unavailable, complaint was made to the provost of the city. Material force was then used to subjugate the rebel, and compel submission to legal authority.[1]

In so far as the plasterers were concerned, they were required to perform watch duty, and pay taxes assessed upon them. But the stonecutters were exempted from guard-mount. This concession was made them on the ground, which we shall hereafter critically examine, that such exemption had descended to them from the time of Charles Martel![2] The Grand Master who controlled the tradesmen, by authority of the king was also exempt from watch duty, as an equivalent for his official services. Each craftsman, of whatever profession, in Paris, over fifty years of age, was not liable for such municipal duty; but in order to be legally exempted, it was necessary to bring that fact

[1] Boileau, *Livre des Metiers*, cap. 48.

[2] Li Mortelliers sont quites du gueit, et tout taileur de pierre, tres le tans Charles Martel si come li prendome l'en oï dire de pere à fils. *Ibid., loc. cit.* Depping, note (5) to chap. 48, ed. 1837, says, in this connection, that the allegation of the prudhommes is curious as a tradition current among the stonemasons, that their corporation ascended to the time of this celebrated warrior. Anderson, *Ancient Constitutions*, p. 26, says painters, carpenters, and joiners were also considered masons. The authority cited above shows conclusively, that plasterers and mortar-mixers were considered as masons, and partially proves Anderson's allegation.

officially to the notice of the commandant of the guard.[1] This collection of the statutes, digested in the middle of the thirteenth century, and affecting all the Parisian trades, makes especial arrangements for settling disputes arising between the brethren and their employers. Some masons and carpenters were selected to arbitrate the differences, and were allowed a *per diem* compensation for each day's view, when required, of the subject-matter in question.[2]

From the preceding narration it appears, I think, that the fraternity of Freemasons, in the year 1254, was established by law in Paris on a solid foundation. The chapter, from which copious citations have been made, is of inestimable value to the Masonic historian. It is incontestably the oldest written record of the craft yet discovered, and as such is entitled to an unbounded confidence. So far as the external history of Freemasonry at that remote period is concerned, it is, in my judgment, the only authentic document now extant. The most ancient roll which has yet appeared in other countries, does not claim a higher antiquity than the close of the fourteenth century; consequently this charter of Boileau, for it bears sufficient evidence that it was designed to answer the purpose of such concession to the Parisian trades-people, recognizing, under imperial revision, their right of internal government, presents claims to consideration superior to the manuscript of Halliwell,[3] which he has assigned to the year 1390 — a difference of one hundred and thirty-six years between the two written documents.[4] I purposely say *assigned*, because

[1] Boileau, *Reglemens sur les Metiers*, cap. 48.

[2] Depping, *Ordonnances relatives aux Metiers de Paris*, p. 373.

[3] This manuscript is numbered on the manuscript list of the British Museum as Royal 17 A1.

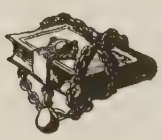
[4] There is a bare possibility that this manuscript may have been copied from the return by some guild of Masons, made, as other guilds in England were required to make, to the king's council, in pursuance of an order of Parliament in the twelfth year of Richard II., A. D. 1389. The records of these returns from numerous guilds have been collected and published by Toulman

there are grave doubts as to the genuineness of its alleged antiquity.[1] This we shall presently proceed to examine. If a charter, whose date in 1254 is unquestioned, states that certain privileges had existed from the time of the illustrious Charles Martel, who had conceded the same to the stonemasons' guild, why should not a similar line of reasoning apply to establish the original foundation of European Masonry about the year 774, as well as to accept unqualifiedly the assertion of a gossiping poem, claimed to be drawn up in 1390, which alleges the Masons were first chartered by King Athelstan, in the year 926?[2] As a point of singular identity, it may be mentioned that early Masonic MSS. also say that the Emperor Charles Martel was distinguished for his patronage of the Masons. I think the connection of this valiant soldier with the earlier history of the building fraternity can be satisfactorily explained, and for this explanation the reader is referred to the Second Part of this work.

Smith, in his *English Guilds*, but there is among them nothing having a direct reference to the fraternity of Masons.

[1] Kloss, *Die Freimaurerei in ihrer wahren Bedeutung*, p. 283, etc., furnishes an unsatisfactory criticism upon the age of Halliwell's manuscripts.

[2] This date is purely conjectural, and without historical basis to confirm it.



CHAPTER XII.

AUTHENTIC BRITISH CRAFT HISTORY FIRST MET IN MELROSE ABBEY — FREEMASONS ORGANIZED IN ENGLAND IN THIRTEENTH CENTURY — TRADITIONAL ASSEMBLY OF MASONS AT YORK NOT RELIABLE — HALLIWELL MANUSCRIPT; ITS ANTIQUITY; COPIED FROM AN OLDER ORIGINAL — NAYMUS GRAECUS AND CHARLES MARTEL ALSO PATRONS OF ENGLISH CRAFTSMEN — MASONIC LEGENDS INDICATE AN EASTERN ORIGIN — GALLIC BUILDERS IN BRITAIN — WHEN INTRODUCED FROM FRANCE — GERMAN MASTERS CALLED TO ENGLAND — LEGEND OF THE FOUR MARTYRS.

IN Britain, as we have previously seen, the first reliable account touching Masons, historically considered, is to be found engraved, in nearly obliterated characters, on the walls of Melrose abbey church, and establishes the fact that, as early as the year 1136, this portion of the United Kingdom depended on master masons imported from abroad. John Morow, or Moreau, as he was sometimes called, maintains, in the inscription alluded to, that he was born in Paris:

> And: had: in: keeping:
> al: mason: werk: of: Santan
> droys: ye: hye: kirk: of: Glas
> gow: Melrose: and: Paslay: of
> Nyddysdayll: and: of: Galway:

From this, it sufficiently appears that John Moreau, a Parisian, at the construction of Melrose abbey, and the churches and cathedral mentioned in his quaint verses,

was the master builder among all the masons employed in building these several sacred edifices. As before noted, William of Sens, a French master, forty years subsequent to the time of his compatriot predecessor, arrived on English soil, to rebuild the rapidly-decaying cathedral of Canterbury and several abbeys. For many years after William of Sens, whose tragical fate has already been noticed, the Master Masons of England were usually foreigners,[1] and incorporated by royal authority.[2] According to a contributor to the *Archæologia*,[3] they were not regularly organized into corporations under the law, as a society of Freemasons, until the thirteenth century. It is generally believed that a grand assembly of the craft was held at the city of York in the year 926, and that they were chartered as a corporation, with Edwin as Grand Master. It is said that, at this time, all the records of the fraternity, in Greek, French, and English, were collected, and from them were framed the Constitution and Charges for English Freemasons still in use.[4] The statement of the existence of these original articles, in the Greek and French languages, at that period, induces serious objections to the correctness of the information through which a knowledge of this mythical convention has descended to us. That there were corporations of Grecian builders in the tenth and eleventh centuries in

[1] Preston, whose writings possess little historical value until immediately preceding his own age, concedes that French masons were employed in England at this period. *Illustrations of Masonry*, sec. iii. See, also, Hutchinson, *Spirit of Masonry*, p. 32.

[2] "The Master Masons were generally foreigners, incorporated by royal authority." Paly, *Manual of Gothic Architecture*, p. 211.

[3] Vol. XXIII., p. 403; vide Dallaway, *Historical Account of Master and Freemason*, pp. 403–407; and Paly, *Ibid., loc. cit.*

[4] Perhaps the earliest historical authority that a record of the craft was preserved in lodges, and that the traditions of the fraternity were rehearsed, as now, to initiates, is Plot's *Natural Hist. of Staffordshire*, § 85. He refers to this ancient roll as of parchment: ex rotulo membraneceo penes Caementariorum societatem.

Europe, we have already shown to be beyond controversy, as a close connection was maintained between the early transitional style of architecture and the late Roman, by means of the uninterrupted intercourse existing between these architects and their native land.[1] The foundation of the tradition concerning the Masonic convocation at York rests upon the assertion of Anderson,[2] that a history of this event was written in the time of Edward IV., towards the termination of the fifteenth century (1475), and also upon copies, or rather one copy, of the Gothic articles alleged to have been made in the reign of Richard II., between the years 1367 and 1399 — nearly five hundred years subsequent to the time assigned for this legendary assembly.

The very general decline of literature and classical knowledge which ensued after the terrible devastations to which the whole of England was exposed, is the subject of a letter by Alfred the Great to a friend, lamenting the almost total extinction of learning in his kingdom, and that, although at the close of the eighth century a knowledge of Greek was so universal that women wrote and spoke it fluently, yet in his day, about fifty years before the alleged assembling of Masons at York, "there were comparatively few persons who were able to understand the church service in the English tongue, or translate a Latin epistle into their own language."[3] We may, at

[1] Ottfried Mueller, *Archæologie der Kunst*, p. 224. See, also, note (2), on the same page, where the traditional assembly alluded to is stated by this learned author with extreme caution.

[2] *Ancient Constitutions*, p. 31. No authority for lateral search is cited — simply the bare narrative.

[3] Lingard, *Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, pp. 224–5. According to Pauli, *Life of Alfred the Great*, p. 192, King Alfred endeavored to reorganize an efficient corps of architects; with what success does not appear. This great monarch seems to have made strenuous efforts to rebuild the churches burned during the Danish invasions, with the aid of foreign artists, imported from abroad: ex multis gentibus collectos et in omni terreneo ædificis edoctos.

least, assert it to be highly improbable that any of those who are said to have framed these ancient charges and regulations for the government of the craft in the tenth century were, at this epoch, able to comprehend Greek, when, as Mr. Hallam[1] says, England was sunk into a lamentable state of barbarism and intellectual darkness. So far as relates to the French language, in which a portion of these famous records are claimed to have been drawn up, it will suffice to say that, in the year 926, no French idiom existed as a written language.[2] The time fixed as the date of the York assembly, in the year 926, is purely and entirely conjectural. No portion of the manuscript contains the slightest allusion to that or any other period, but merely states Masonry was introduced in the time of Athelstan,[3] who, according to more recent written legends, held a grand convocation at York, and that he made proclamation at that time for all records pertaining to the craft to be produced before him. Upon what

Asser., p. 495. At a much earlier period, an English bishop procured masons from Gaul to construct for him a stone church. Misit legatarios Galliam qui vitri factores (artifices videlicet) Britanniis eateus incognitos, etc. Beda, *Ecc. Hist.* From this, it seems the process of erecting stone edifices was entirely unknown to the British people. It is probable that these foreign artificers were Greeks, and members of the Byzantine corporations, to whose hands almost the whole work of such constructions was, in those remote times, committed.

[1] *Introduction to the Literature of Europe*, Vol. I., p. 6.

[2] Hallam, *Literature of Europe*, Vol. I., p. 6. For a complete and comprehensive description of the dialectic corruption of the Latin language existing in France at this period, see Villemain, *Tableau de la Litterature au Moyen Age*, Tome I., §§ 1 and 2; also, Maffei, *Storia della Letter. Ital.*, Tomo I., p. 19. Although no well-founded belief can be accorded to the assertion that Masonic records in the French language existed in the tenth century, the allegation will serve to indicate that, at whatever epoch the manuscript under examination was first framed, it was well understood, and currently accepted, that French Masons had, *at some time*, brought into England sufficient Masonic arts to entitle them to specific mention. Unity of traditions between the mediæval English and French craftsmen points to France as the earliest and nearest source where Masonic knowledge was procured.

[3] Royal MSS., 17, A1, folio 5.

authority this assemblage of Masons has been referred to a definite year is unknown, but, it is to be presumed, from the fact that Edwin, an English prince, lived about the year 926. As to the style, orthography, or lettering of the manuscript in question, nothing attests Mr. Halliwell's assumption that it was written in the year 1390. The same reasoning which ascribes it to the close of the fourteenth century will admit of assigning an origin much later, perhaps to the middle of the fifteenth century. However this may be, I am clearly of the opinion that this MSS., which is lettered and numbered in the library of the British Museum as Royal 17, A1, has been copied from an older and more ancient parchment, or transcribed from fragmentary traditions. My opinion is based upon the internal evidence which certain portions of the manuscript present, having an evident reference to a remote antiquity. Among other ancient charges, it is ordained that no master or fellow shall set any layer, within or without the lodge, to hew or mould stone.[1] In the eleventh article of these Constitutions, one of the reciprocal duties prescribed to a Mason is:

> "That seeth his fellow hewen on a stone,
> And this then pointeth to spoil that stone,
> Amend that stone, and help him," etc.[2]

In this connection, I quote from the Cooke MSS., No. 23,198, that the copyist had before him an older parchment, which contained the following remarkable phraseology: "And it is said, *in old books of Masonry*, that Solomon confirmed the charges," etc. According to the *Archæologia*,[3] until

[1] Halliwell MSS., 17, A1. The quotations and references which follow are copied from my book of notes, and were drawn directly from the several manuscripts cited. Hughan, in his *Old Masonic Charges*, has given to the public and fraternity nearly the entire collection of Masonic manuscripts, which, until recently, remained unpublished in the British Museum Library and elsewhere in England.

[2] Halliwell MSS.

[3] Vol. IX., pp. 112, 113.

the close of the twelfth century, stones were hewn out with an adze. About this time the chisel was introduced, and superseded the hewing of stone. Thus we see that the words "hew a stone," had descended from the twelfth century, at least, to the period when the manuscript first quoted was copied, and, being found in the roll before the copyist, were also transcribed. Moreover, the occurrence of Charles Martel's name in the MSS. so early as that of Cooke, indicates that the tradition of his connection with the masons or stonecutters had long obtained among the fraternity in England. It is highly probable that this legend was carried there by foreign workmen from the Continent, where, as we have seen, this tradition was extant as early as the year 1254.

No mention is made, in the French ordinances of Louis IX., of a certain Namus Graecus, who, as stated in the older manuscripts,[1] was a curious man, and had been at the building of King Solomon's temple. From thence he passed, in bold defiance of all chronology, after a mighty slumber, into France, and there taught the stout-hearted Charles Martel, or Marshall[2]—the latter, no doubt, an error of the transcriber—the science of masonry. I merely advert to this strange statement of Namus Graecus as furnishing additional, but conjectural, evidence that Masonic guilds recognized a Grecian origin of many things perpetuated in their lodges, and that when they were actually organized, in the eleventh or twelfth century, the same Byzantine traditions which had prevailed among the lay corporations and monastic workmen of an early age passed to the mediæval Freemasons. The name of Namus, or, as the old York MSS. style him, Naymus Graecus, simply signifies Naymus the Grecian. To what age his original

[1] Cooke MSS., No. 23,198, and Dowland's MSS., in Hughan, *Old Masonic Charges*, p. 26.

[2] From whatever source Anderson obtained the knowledge for his *Ancient Constitutions*, it also furnished the tradition of Charles Martel. *Ibid.*, p. 30.

connection with the legends of the craft should be assigned, is beyond recovery. But this name, attesting thus its own derivation, seems to assume that he was a Byzantine artificer, or that he belonged to one of the Greek corporations of builders, whose existence was clearly maintained throughout Europe from the fifth to the eleventh centuries.

I have enlarged upon the traditional relations of Namus the Grecian with the earlier building associations, deeming that legend so far trustworthy as developing a clew to the route by which such portions of Freemasonry as can be fairly traceable to Oriental influence, came to be incorporated into the legendary lore of Middle Age fraternities, and, subsequently, constituting an essential part of lodge ritual. That this was the accepted view by the ancient craftsmen in early ages, is palpable, and that the assumption was a correct one, is clearly proven by the uniformity and unvarying constancy with which the ancient manuscripts[1] assert that Namus the Grecian brought masonry, or the building art, from the East. This name has descended to our day through all the intervening changes of time. It is not to be found in the writings of secular or profane authors, nor does it appear in the eventful periods of ecclesiastical history. It is the only name mentioned in these venerable Masonic records whose significance tends towards a solution of the difficult problem, at what remote period of European history the details of art were translated from the Orient by Greek builders, and also implies the original belief among mediæval Freemasons that, through Grecian operatives, the secrets of architectural construction had come down to their time. In addition to this, the manuscripts assert that at the mythical Masonic convocation at York there were records[2]

[1] Lansdowne MSS., No. 98; Cooke MSS., No. 23,198.

[2] *Ibid.;* also, Hughan, *Old Masonic Charges*, pp. 28, etc. The Lansdowne MSS., No. 98, say there were some in Hebrew. Anderson, *Constitutions*, p. 33.

written in Greek, showing, conclusively, to what extent these early English masons acknowledged themselves indebted to the Grecian or Byzantine artificers.

The old chronicles of the craft further relate, that Masonry was introduced into France by Namus the Grecian, who instructed Charles Martel in the science. As we have already stated, the first known master masons on British soil were foreigners and Frenchmen, — John Moreau, a Parisian, and William, a native of Sens — the former of whom, early in the twelfth century, was master of Scottish masons: the latter, in 1176, rebuilt the cathedral of Canterbury. It is well known that William the Conqueror deluged the whole of England[1] with foreign artificers, whom he brought with him or ordered from France, and the almost utter extinction of the Anglo-Saxon social element,[2] either by proscription or gradual merging into the Norman, rendered it necessary that public edifices, if constructed at all, should be erected by competent workmen imported from abroad. France, at this time, possessed such artisans, because, according to the admission of the quaint chronicles hitherto quoted, long prior to this epoch, Naymus, a Grecian, had carried the science of masonry into France and taught it to Charles Martel, conceding, upon the force of tradition, that masonic art, or the rules of architecture, were also produced upon French soil by a Grecian or Byzantine operative. And it is none the less singular or significant, that the Parisian stonecutters, in the year 1254, asserted their independence of certain civil duties, by reason of an exemption or pre-

[1] Hope, *Historical Essay on Architecture*, Vol. I., p. 407; Hawkins, *History of the Origin of Gothic Architecture*, pp. 115–16; also, Stieglitz, *Geschichte der Baukunst*, 3 Ab., cap. 34.

[2] Thierry, *Histoire de la Conquete de l'Angleterre par les Normans*, Tome I., p. 110, etc. This author presents an incident of a Norman king, who was unable to comprehend the Anglo-Saxon dialect when addressed by one of his subjects. Consult Poole, *Ecclesiastical Arch. in England*, chap. vii.

scriptive right, which they traced, through all the intermediate changes of time, directly to the same Charles Martel![1] When the demands of the Norman conquerors made it essential to have skilled laborers for the construction of sacred and other edifices, such workmen were procured from France in great numbers.[2]

Forty-nine years after the death[3] of William, the Norman king, John Moreau, a Frenchman, had lain the foundation walls of that gorgeous fabric, Melrose Abbey, and, in a lasting record, alleged himself to be the master of all masonic work along the river Tweed, on the south border of Scotland, and in Glasgow. Whatever traditions and usages the French stonemasons possessed at this epoch, without doubt, passed over with them into England, and, through them, obtained currency in that kingdom. I am inclined to place the translation of the legend of Charles Martel, and a knowledge of Naymus Graecus, into Great Britain at this era, together with such usages and customs of the fraternity as were practised by the Freemasons of France. This view of the subject under consideration has an undoubted weight of reason and evidence, both legendary and historical, over the visionary assumption that all, or nearly all, Masonic rites and ceremonies, besides the mediæval art knowledge of the craft, are the lineal descendants of the ancient Roman building colleges; especially when it is stated that the relentless power of the early emperors of Rome crushed out the vital forces of these associations, and actually forbade them corporate existence.[4] When, however, the emergencies involved in the construction of a new capital for the Roman empire demanded organized bodies of builders, such corporations were formed at Byzantium, under permission and patron-

[1] Boileau, *Reglemens sur Metiers*, cap. 48.

[2] Hope, *On Architecture*, chap. xxxviii.

[3] A. D. 1087.

[4] Suetonius, *Vit. Jul.*, c. 42. This subject, in its bearing upon the internal history of Freemasonry, will be resumed in Part II. of this work.

age of imperial authority. The reference to Charles Martel, in Boileau's digest of laws affecting the trades, and confirmed by the English records, seems to point to the age of the Carlovingian dynasty[1] as the period when Gallic stonecutters or masons recognized the concession made them, which had been perpetuated to the thirteenth century. Taken collectively with the tradition of Naymus Graecus, this allusion to so remote a period might allow us to infer that, under the patronage of early German kings, the Byzantine stonecutters exercised a widespread and salutary influence in architectural and plastic art in Germany, and as foreigners, sojourning distant from the land of their birth, they were permitted, by royal mandate, to live in accordance with such laws as they elected,[2] and, in consequence, received exemption from many duties to which the citizens of the empire were subjected. Among these privileges, it is fairly inferable that freedom from municipal watch duty would be the most natural, and as such, the Grecian corporations at labor in Germany obtained this concession, and transmitted the same unimpaired to their successors, the stonecutters of Paris, where we find it in existence as an old established custom in the year 1254.

Among other French master masons, in addition to those already cited, who followed the tide of travel toward England, mention is made[3] of Masericius, a Lanfranc, Robert de Blois, Rémi de Fécamp, and Robert de Losenge. Foreign architects conducted the erection of the most important cathedrals on British soil, and continued to do so

[1] Cooke's manuscript, No. 23,198, says Charles II., instead of Martel. All others, I believe, agree.

[2] See *supra*, p. 30, *et seq.*, where this doctrine of a personal profession of law is fully discussed.

[3] Hope, *Essay on Architecture*, Vol. I., pp. 406, 407; Poole, *Eccles. Archit. in England*, pp. 92, 124, 126; also Hawkins, *Hist. of Origin of Gothic Architecture*, pp. 115–16.

until the total extinction of the knowledge involved in the Gothic arch. German Freemasons also aided in the construction of English churches and abbeys and other public edifices. A German Master Mason, by the name of Klaus or Kloos, built King's College chapel at Cambridge, the finest Gothic structure in England.[1]

That the German Masonic fraternity exercised a decided influence upon architecture in Great Britain at an early age, is undeniable, and, in addition to the fact that many elegant cathedrals were erected there in Gothic style, as in the case of King's College chapel, just cited, of which the plans and designs were prepared by a German master, this assumption is based upon other ground than the preceding. The earliest records now extant relating to the stonecutters of Germany, allude to four Christian engravers,[2] who had received the crown of martyrdom under Diocletian for refusing to perform certain work to be used in the decoration of a heathen temple. They are denominated, in direct allusion to the sacred cause of their death, *quator coronati.*

When the German masons arrived in England, they brought with them a thorough and practical knowledge of the secret details of that art which constitutes the chief attractions of Gothic architecture. They also naturally carried over the usages, customs, and traditions which were current among the fraternity in their native country. The most convincing proof that this allegation is a correct one, is the acceptation of the tradition touching these four martyrs by the English Middle-Age Freemasons. It is incorporated in Halliwell's manuscript as a portion of the legendary history of the craft, and is referred to in such a

[1] Hope, *Essay on Architecture*, Vol. I., p. 407; Stieglitz, *Geschichte der Baukunst*, p. 528; Poole, *Ecclesiastical Architecture*, p. 118, refers to one John Wastel as the master mason of this building, perhaps at a subsequent period.

[2] *Ordnunge der Steinmetzen zu Strassburg;* Krause, *Die Drei œltest. Kunsturkunden*, Bd. II., Abt. 2, 69. There designated "Diener der Heiligen vier gekronten."

manner as to warrant the conclusion that the tradition had long obtained with British Masons. The following constitutes the whole of this legend, which was transcribed directly from the manuscript itself:

"Pray we now to God Almyght,
And to his swete modr Mary bryght,
Yat me mowe kepe yese articulus here,
And yese poyntes well al yfere,
As dede yese holy martyres fowre,
Yat in yys craft were of gret honoure,
Yey were as god masons as on erthe shul go,
Gravers and image makers yey were also,
For they were werkmen of ye beste,
Ye Empor hade to hem gret luste,
He wylned of hem a ymage to make,
Yt mowt be worshiped for hys sake,
Such mawmetys he hade yu hys dawe,
To turne ye pepal from Crysti's lawe,
But yey were stedfast yn Cstis lay,
And to their craft wtouten nay." [1]

The quaint chronicle further proceeds to narrate that these stonecutters, or gravers, as they are called, persisting in their refusal to carve out the emperor's image for public reverence, were first imprisoned, and subsequently, by the enraged ruler's order, put to death. This establishes a more or less remote connection between the traditions of the German craftsmen and those of the English Freemasons.[2] No doubt many things still practised within the tiled recesses of Masonic lodges, at all traceable to German or Teutonic sources, are evidently the contributions of both the Gallic and German Masons, who, thus early in the history of Freemasonry, had imparted their several legends to their British brethren.

[1] Kloss, *Freimaurerei in ihrer wahren Bedeutung*, p. 257, *et seq.*, gives complete details touching these martyrs. Also Krause, *Die Drei ältest. Kunsturkunden*, Bd. I., Ab. 2, p. 405; II., Ab. 2, p. 287.

[2] Kloss, *ut supra*, p. 315.

CHAPTER XIII.

ENGLISH FREEMASONS POSSESS NO UNUSUAL PRIVILEGES — UNDER WILLIAM OF WYKEHAM, THEY DECLINE STATUTORY WAGES — ACT OF 3 HENRY VI., DECLARING MASONIC CHAPTERS AND CONVOCATIONS VOID AND ILLEGAL, TERMINATES THE FRATERNITY AS A CLOSE ORGANIZATION OF CRAFTSMEN — ANCIENT RITES AND CUSTOMS STILL MAINTAINED IN LODGES — CONTRACT OF A LODGE FOR TILING IN REIGN OF HENRY VI. — MANUSCRIPT OF THIS MONARCH — MASONS OBLIGED TO OBEY ROYAL WARRANT — SIGNS AND TOKENS FORBIDDEN GUILDS IN FIFTEENTH CENTURY — LODGES OF THE FREEMASONS — PERSONS OF HIGH POSITION INITIATED AT AN EARLY PERIOD INTO MASONIC LODGES — CLERGY ELECTED TO MEMBERSHIP IN GUILDS.

ACCORDING to Dallaway,[1] the Master Masons of England were frequently employed in government service, by applying the practical knowledge of which they were possessed to the invention of military stratagems. English guilds of Freemasons do not appear to have been privileged beyond other craft associations. In the year 1351, a number of operative masons, employed in the construction of Windsor Castle, under the direction of William of Wykeham as master of the work — *magister*[2] *operum* — declined accepting the wages[3] due them as regulated by an act of Par-

[1] *Historical Account of Master and Freemason*, p. 420.

[2] This was the nomenclature bestowed upon the superintending builder, but by no means confined to Masonic fraternities. See Du Cange, *Gloss. Med. et Infim. Lat.*, sub voce.

[3] It might be a subject of curious speculation to know the causes which in-

liament, abandoned the work, and refused to proceed further. In order that these contumacious masons might be adequately punished and held in check for the future, the statute of 24 Edward III. was enacted, giving requisite authority to compel the recalcitrants to resume their labors, under the penalty, after due notice, of being branded. Statutes regulating the prices of mechanical handicraft were frequently passed, and as repeatedly broken by the masons.[1]

The act of 1356, passed in the thirtieth year of the reign of Edward III., forbid certain combinations or congregations of laborers, whereby, it was alleged, the mechanics and artificers were incited to unjust and illegal demands, contrary to the spirit of the English Constitution. This law proving, in a measure, inoperative,[2] the power of the British Parliament was again invoked, and the following famous statute was enacted in the year 1424, and styled 3 Henry VI., cap. i.:

"En primis come par les annuels congregations et confederacies faite par les masons en leur Generalz Chapiters[3] assemblez, le bon cours et effect des statutes de

duced these operatives to rebel; at all events, it is noteworthy that after this era, almost all mason work in England was done by contract, under seal. In these indentures, everything touching the character of materials and wages of master masons was specified with legal accuracy, so that there could thenceforth be no misunderstanding. Rymer, *Fœdera, etc.*, Tome III., P. IV., p. 104, *et seq.*, gives one of these indentures in Norman-French, in which the king contracts with Richard Washbourn and John Swalwe, masons, to construct Westminster Hall, and is dated 1395. Poole, *Ecclesiastical Architecture*, p. 383, publishes a Latin indenture of the year 1398, between a prior and John Middleton, mason, *cementarium;* this word was used for mason in France exclusively. Hawkins, *Hist. of Orig. Goth. Arch.*, p. 107.

[1] *Archæologia*, Vol. IX., pp. 119 and 120.

[2] Dallaway, *Historical Account of Master and Freemason*, p. 425.

[3] From this phraseology — en leur generalz chapitres assemblez — there is no doubt the Freemasons had long been accustomed to meet in a general or grand body each year, to legislate upon all matters pertinent to the well-being of the craft.

labourers sont publiquement violez et desrompez en sub version de la loye et grevouse damage de la commune, nostre seigneur le roi voullant en ces cas pourvoir le remedie, par advis et assent susditz et à l'especial request de ditz communes ait ordine et establi que tieux chapitres et congregations, ne soient desore tenez; et si ascuns tielz soient faitz, soient ceux qui soient convictz, adjugez pour felons; et que tous les autres masons qui veignent as tielz chapitres et congregations soient punitz par empresonement de le corps et facent fyn et rauncisn à la volonté du roi."

It would seem that the process issued against the masons for an alleged violation of this law, or for any infraction of contracts solemnly entered into, was the *capias corpus* — a writ still familiar in legal practice. Gouveneur Pownall[1] asserts, in the most positive manner, that "this statute ended these bodies in England," so far as the closeness of their organization permitted them to control the various branches of architectural art or other mechanical trades appurtenant to this science. In other words, this act of Henry VI., under the penalties mentioned, forbid the masons assembling as a body of operative workmen, in order to regulate wages or to arrange upon what terms apprentices should be received into the lodges. This authority, which, no doubt, in early ages was conceded them from necessity, was revoked by the foregoing statute; and thereafter all matters appertaining to wages and apprentices were legislated upon by Parliament.[2] Although, from the year 1424, Masonic convoca-

[1] *Archæologia*, Vol. IX., p. 120.

[2] Anderson, *Ancient Constitutions*, p. 36, note (*), thinks this act was an outgrowth of ignorance and clerical illiteracy — that all learning, etc., was the special property of the Masons of that age. Preston, *Illustrations of Masonry*, p. 118, however, does not agree entirely with this view, but attempts to ground the passage of the above law on political troubles. The oft-quoted opinion of Lord Coke, III. *Institute*, folio 19, touching the effect of subsequent enactments upon this statute, fails to touch the point in question.

tions, composed of operatives who claimed the powers hitherto assumed, ceased to exist, nevertheless these artificers still met in their lodges and practised the original rites and ceremonies of initiation.[1] These guilds continued to survive merely as clubs, which were instituted in lieu of the chapters, and directed their attention almost exclusively to benevolence.[2]

During the reign of Henry VI., a body of Freemasons entered into contract with the churchwardens of a parish in Suffolk to undertake certain work for them, but expressly stipulated that a lodge, properly tiled, should be erected for them at the expense of the church, in which to hold their meetings.[3] It has been alleged[4] that this monarch granted the masons many concessions, which distinguished them from other craft guilds and fraternities, as a particular object of his royal favor. Dallaway, whose treatise on the *Master and Freemason*[5] indicates a careful and rigid scrutiny of authorities, asserts that this assumption is unwarranted, and that, on the contrary, this king, instead of singling out the Masonic fraternity for especial esteem, permitted them no exclusive privileges as a society.[6] The researches of this writer develop the incontestable fact that certain concessions were granted to other corporations of tradespeople which were denied the Masons.[7]

[1] *Archæologia*, Vol. IX., p. 120. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 121.

[3] Hope, *Hist. Essay on Architecture*, Vol. I., p. 238. It was usual to stipulate for lodges, which, perhaps, were anciently used as sleeping apartments. In an indenture, dated 1395, the king agrees to lodge the Masons: le Roy trouvera Herbergage pur les ditz Masons et lour compaignons — for the Masons and fellows. Rymer, *Fœdera*, Tome III., P. IV., p. 104, etc.

[4] "In 1442, he was initiated into Masonry, and from that time spared no pains to obtain a complete knowledge of the art, ... and honored them with his sanction." Preston, *Illustrations of Masonry*, p. 124; Anderson's *Ancient Constitutions*, p. 36.

[5] *Historical Account of Master and Freemason*, p. 426.

[6] Dallaway, *Ibid.*, p. 425. A candid examination of the customs and prerogatives enjoyed by other guilds will lead the inquirer to the same conclusion.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 426.

The attempt has often been made to prove that Henry VI. was a zealous patron of the Freemasons.[1] A curious manuscript,[2] purporting to have been drawn up in the king's own handwriting, is frequently cited to attest his affection for the craft. The weakness of Henry VI.'s intellect is well known, and also his disposition to pry into the mysteries of that strange science of alchemy. It is possible that his attention may have been directed to the mystic rites which were practised in the initiation into the secrets of Masonry, as furnishing him a probable solution of the problem involved in the pursuit of the Philosopher's stone. However, the original manuscript, of which a copy[3] is said to have been found in the year 1748 in Germany, has never been produced. It is claimed that a transcript of the same, with the royal autograph attached, was made by the antiquarian, John Leyland; but on comparison with other signatures of the king, according to Dallaway,[4] it has been pronounced spurious.

Whenever the services of the Freemasons were required in the erection of edifices, they were obliged to obey the royal mandate or letters patent.[5] This order was usually drawn in favor of the person who designed building, and

[1] Preston, *ut supra*, p. 124; Anderson, *Ancient Constitutions*, p. 36.

[2] Krause, *Die Drei ældtesten Kunsturkunden*, Bd. I., Ab. 1, p. 20.

[3] See Introductory Essay to Hutchinson's *Spirit of Masonry*, p. 13, etc., for full information touching this manuscript. Also, *infra*, Part II., *Faculty of Abrac.*

[4] *Historical Account of Master and Freemason*, p. 429.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 426. Halliwell's MSS. contains the following regulation for the punishment of disobedient members:

> "The scheref schal come hem sone to,
> And putte here bodyes yn deeppe prison,
> For the trespass that they hav y-don,
> And take here goodes and here cattell
> Ynto the kynges hand, every delle,
> And let hem dwelle here ful stylle,
> Tyl hyt be our lege kynge's wylle." 12th P.

This confirms Anderson, *Ancient Constitutions*, p. 34, note (*); also, Brentano, *Prefatory Essay to Hist. of Guilds*, p. cxxvii.

commanded the craft to proceed forthwith, under the penalty of fine and imprisonment, to render such services as were named in the warrant, and by it they were bound to accept the wages prescribed by law.[1] In the year 1495, a statute was enacted by Parliament forbidding artisans of every description the use of "signs and tokens." About the middle of the ensuing century, the statutes which prohibited the craft of builders from freely practising their trade according to ancient usage and custom, were repealed; but this license was speedily revoked, excepting so far as the same related to the city of London.[2] Whenever infractions were proven to have been made by the tradesmen of the royal ordinances, such offences were cognizable before a justice of the peace, who was also empowered temporarily to suspend their corporate privileges, or to revoke them absolutely.[3]

On the 28th of April, in the year 1610, the justices of the peace established the following legal schedule of wages which should be paid this class of artificers:[4]

	With Meat. s.	d.	Without Meat. d.
A freemason which can draw his plot and set accord	8	0	12
A rough mason which can take charge over others	5	0	10
A bricklayer	4	0	8
" " prentice	3	0	7

The following rates were also adopted[5] by the same authorities, in accordance with the provisions of the statute quoted, at a subsequent period, perhaps, to the foregoing:

[1] Brentano, *Hist. of the Origin and Development of Guilds*, p. cxlv.

[2] Consult Toulman Smith, *English Guilds*, and Brentano's *Essay*, prefixed, § iv., where the general tenor of the laws enacted at this period sufficiently attests the text.

[3] This authority was given by virtue of a statute, passed in the fifteenth year of the reign of Henry VI., 1437. See Brentano, *Hist. and Development of Guilds*, p. cxl.

[4] 36 Charles II.

[5] *Archæologia*, Vol. XI., pp. 203, 208–9.

	With Meat and Drink.		Without Meat.	
	s.	d.	s.	d.
A freemason	6	0	1	4
A master bricklayer	6	0	1	0
Servants and apprentices above 18 years old	4	0	0	8

In the year 1689 the wages of Freemasons were prescribed to be one shilling and four pence *per diem*. To receive more subjected them to a penalty of twenty-one days' imprisonment.[1] From these several enactments it would appear that the corporations of builders, after the law of 3 Henry VI., 1424, had ceased to have an existence, other than that which was tolerated upon the basis simply as a class of tradesmen, without any special prerogatives, and whose compensation for work was regulated by a relentless law. They could exercise no discretion as against the royal warrant commanding them to labor for an employer therein named; neither were they allowed to assemble in secret convocation, only for the purpose of performing the harmless ceremonies of initiation, and were, under the severest penalties, interdicted from combining to subvert any law, or to interfere in matters of civil polity. As we have before remarked, from the time of the promulgation of this act, the Masonic fraternity was perpetuated almost entirely as a beneficial club, whose principal object, in a mysterious manner, was devoted to mutual assistance and benevolence. It is in the highest degree probable, that the year 1424 is the proper date to assign for the cessation of English Freemasonry as a strictly operative association, and the epoch of its decided tendency towards a speculative science, such as we now find it. The rites and ceremonies, together with the moral instruction which had hitherto been in vogue in the lodges, were undoubtedly continued under the new *regime*. It is equally true, I apprehend, that a knowledge of the building art was also

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 208; Dallaway, *Historical Account of Master and Freemason*, pp. 426–7.

still procurable from the masters who composed these bodies of Masons, until the gradually changing current of civilization, and the general advancement of intelligence deeper down among the people at large, combined with the more rapid introduction of men of social position into these lodges, attracted perhaps by the novelty presented in the initiatory rites and conviviality, ultimately extinguished their operative character. That many details of architectural art have been lost by the extinction of this feature of Freemasonry is not denied, but acknowledged on all sides as a lamentable fact.[1] Since the Freemasons were forbidden to convene as a body of artificers, who performed their work in the secret recesses of the lodge, strongly tiled, to prevent any but the initiated from entering, they turned their attention to preserving the original framework of Masonry as a moralistic organization. By the crushing power of the statute of 3 Henry VI., the Masons were not allowed to exercise their mechanical handicraft within guarded doors; neither were they permitted to arrogate the liberty of regulating the price of their labor, nor the legislative prerogative of establishing ordinances affecting apprentices, and upon what they should be accepted as such.[2] Heretofore these corporations had assumed the right, and had been permitted the authority, to control their own members, which privilege was, perhaps, an outgrowth of the foreign bodies originally incorporated by royal warrant. They had claimed the powers of petty justice,[3] which was

[1] Only so late as the time of Sir Christopher Wren, himself a distinguished Freemason, this architect was obliged to confess his inability to understand all their mysteries. Hope, *Essay on Architecture*, Vol. I., p. 527; Poole, *Eccles. Architecture*, p. 118.

[2] "In 1536, it became necessary to pass a law (28 Henry VIII.) forbidding the Masters of the several corporations to take an oath from their apprentices that they should not carry on the trade on their own account, without their master's consent." Brentano, *Hist. and Development of Guilds*, p. cxlix.

[3] Brentano, *Ibid.*, pp. cxxvi., cxl., and Wilda, *Das Gilden Wesen im Mittelalter*, p. 319, etc.

final; they had presumed to establish the duration of apprenticeship, and arrogated the prescriptive right, after such term of service expired, to arrest the apprentice in his advancement to a degree which would materially increase his profits as a workman. Through the agency of signs and passwords, they rigidly excluded from their companionship all uninitiates,[1] and forbid, under severe penalties, the communication of the slightest details of art to the profane. All this constituted a monopoly of trade of the closest organization, and the result could be prophesied.[2]

In the advancing strides of English civilization, when the British mind was rapidly crystallizing around a freedom from the restraints superinduced by feudal monopoly;[3] when the full and complete relations of regal sovereignty were settling solidly down upon a basis of law, and the reciprocal duties of Parliament and royalty were understood to signify that all legislation affecting the commonwealth must emanate from their combined volition — then it was that these closely organized trades-unions among the builders were remorsely opened to the public, and all prerogatives hitherto assumed by them were solemnly abrogated, as detrimental to the common welfare, and in subversion of legal authority; or, as this salutary enactment reads: "Sont publiquement violez et desrompez en subversion de la loye et greviese damage de la commune." That this statute was earnestly demanded, and sadly needed, in England, cannot be denied. Such a law should be found upon the statute-book of every country, that when any guild or corporation of men assemble in secret conclave, under whatever name or pretext, whether it be of trades-union, or to exclude any skilled

[1] Krause, *Die Drei ältesten Kunsterkunden*, Bd. II., Ab. 2, p. 276.

[2] The struggles between the craft-guilds and the law-making powers in this connection are carefully narrated by Brentano, *Hist. and Develop. of Guilds*, § iv.

[3] See Buckle, *Hist. of Civilization in England*, Vol. I., chap. vii.

labor, native or foreign, from a full and free participation in the privileges incident to mechanical trades, or arrogate the right to legislate what shall be the duration of apprenticeship, and what number of apprentices may, in their wisdom, be allowed to each master mechanic — then this, or similar legislative enactment, should be rigidly enforced, to crush a tendency which is as dangerous to constitutional liberty as it is injurious to healthy trade and social morals.

As previously stated, the opening of these fraternities to the public caused the members to direct their attention to the perpetuation of secret initiatory rites. During the course of ensuing centuries, persons who had no immediate connection with any mechanical trade were apparently initiated into the mystic ceremonies of Freemasonry, and were received or accepted as Masons. At what period such persons, not tradespeople, were thus accepted, is uncertain. I am inclined to the belief that this initiation was conferred upon men of high position or wealth from a very early age. In the thirteenth century, as we have seen, in the case of the Parisian stonecutters, a nobleman was appointed by Louis IX. as general, or grand master, of the craft.[1] According to Ungewitter,[2] from the time the guilds in Italy acquired a positive status, and obtained a legal corporate recognition, all citizens admitted under oath became, *ipse facto*, full members, notwithstanding they made no profession of the trade of which the fraternity was composed. He also asserts,[3] in Pisa the nobility were frequently accepted into membership in various guilds, in

[1] Boileau, *Réglemens sur Les Métiers de Paris*, Tit. xlviii.

[2] Seitdem die Zuenfte zu bevorrichteten Körperschaften geworden brachte diese ihre Eigenschaft mit sich, dasz Jeder der sich in eine davon aufnehmen liess, völlig als Mitglied galt, wenn er gleich nicht von dem Gewerbe war, von welchem sie den Namen führte. *Geschichte des Handels u. der Industrie*, p. 235.

[3] Selbst Adlige könnten in Pisa auf diesem Wege zu den öffentlichen Aemtern gelangen. *Ibid., ut supra.*

order to secure the influence afforded by these corporations, and thus render advancement to public offices less difficult.[1] As a rule, the guilds were endowed with inherent power to elect their masters from the fraternity, or from men of high rank.[2] They also were privileged to select, by ballot, any reputable citizen, and accept him as a member. One guild in England, whose origin was traceable beyond the Norman conquest, elected the clergy to membership.[3] King Edward III. became a member of a guild of linen armorers in London, and his example was frequently followed by his successors, and the nobility of the kingdom.[4] Preston[5] says, upon the authority of an old manuscript, in the time of this monarch the sheriff, mayor, or aldermen of the city in which the lodge of Masons was opened, might be made a Fellow, and associated with the Master, in order to preserve order and decorum among the craftsmen. There is no reason to doubt the assertion of the record referred to by Preston, that, at the time alleged, persons of social standing, as sheriff and other civil officers, were accepted as members of the Masonic fraternity, especially when it is considered such usage was current among other craft guilds, and that Edward III. himself was accepted as a member of the linen armorers' association.

[1] Machiavelli, *Istorie Fiorentine*, Tomo I., p. 304, says that Giano della Bella, deeply interested in the political condition of Florence, associated himself with the craft guilds in order to promote the welfare of the city: "dette animo ai capi delle Arti a riformare la citta."

[2] Brentano, *History and Origin of Guilds*, p. cxxv. In the year 1258, there was a contest at Cologne over the election of the archbishop to an office in a craft-guild. See Wilda, *Das Gilden Wesen im Mittelalter*, p. 324.

[3] Toulman Smith, *English Guilds*, p. 287. From the return of this guild it seems to have come within the purview of its institution to found a school for Jews. *Ibid.*, p. 288.

[4] Brentano, *ut supra*, p. cxxii.

[5] *Illustrations of Masonry*, p. 113. In this statement he is followed by Anderson, *Ancient Constitutions*, p. 34, note (*), who is soundly berated by Steinbrenner, *Origin and Early History of Masonry*, p. 118, for so doing.

CHAPTER XIV.

FREEMASONRY IN BRITAIN IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY — ELIAS ASHMOLE, THE ANTIQUARIAN, INITIATED IN THE FOLLOWING CENTURY — PLOT'S NARRATIVE OF THE CRAFT — ZEAL AMONG PEOPLE OF RANK TO BECOME CRAFTSMEN AND "ACCEPTED" AS MASONS — SIR CHRISTOPHER WREN AS GRAND MASTER — KING WILLIAM RECEIVES THE DEGREES IN A LODGE AT HAMPTON COURT — FORMATION OF A GRAND LODGE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

IT is perhaps impossible to assign an accurate date for the admission of non-professional men into the lodges of Freemasons, prior to the close of the sixteenth century. The earliest authentic record is to be found on the rolls of Saint Mary's Lodge, at Edinburgh, where it is registered that John Boswell, of Auchinleck, was present at an assembly of the Lodge in 1600,[1] and that Robert Moray, a Quartermaster-General of the Scottish army, was admitted as *Mr.* (*Master?*[2]) in the year 1641. Elias Ashmole, the learned antiquary, and author of an elaborate history of the Knight Templars, made the following memorandum in his gossiping memoirs, on the 16th of October, 1646: "4 hor. 30 minutes past meridem, I was made a Freemason at Warrington, in Lancashire, with Colonel Henry Mainwaring, of Kerticham, in Cheshire. The names of those that were at the Lodge: Mr. Richard Penkert, warden, Mr. Jas. Collier, Mr. Richard Sankey, Henry Lettler, John Ellam, and Hugh Brewer." From this

[1] Lyon, *History of Mary Chapel Lodge*, pp. 96–7. [2] "Indefinite in a Masonic sense." Hughan, in *Masonic Magazine*, p. 212, *anno.* 1875.

citation, it appears that one Col. Henry Mainwaring, an English officer, was initiated with Ashmole, in the year 1646. It is not improbable that Elias Ashmole may have sought a knowledge of the mysteries of Freemasonry, presuming, perhaps, upon the service it might afford him in preparing his history of chivalry. Under the date of 1682, an additional entry was made in his diary: "March 10. Received a summons to appear before a lodge at Masons' Hall, London. 11th. Went, and was admitted into the fellowship of Freemasons by Sir William Wilson, Knt. Was senior Fellow, being thirty-five years since making. Dined at dinner, at expense of the new accepted Mason." In this connection, it is a subject of curious speculation as to the identity of Richard Sankey, a member of the above lodge. Sloane's MSS.,[1] No. 3848, was transcribed and finished by one Edward Sankey, on the 16th day of October, 1646, the day Elias Ashmole was initiated into the secrets of the craft! It is clearly deducible, I think, from the foregoing citations, that, during the seventeenth century, Freemasonry had practically ceased to be a society composed of operative masons, and that, from the opening to the close of this century, no artistic or mechanical knowledge was a qualification necessary for admission into the fraternity, and that the guarded doors of lodges were freely opened to unprofessional citizens.

In the year 1686, Plot says,[2] in the most emphatic terms, that although the Freemasons were still a body of opera-

[1] The terminal page bears the following attestation:

"Finis p me Eduardu Sankey
decimo sexto die Octobris Anno Domini 1646."

Hughan, *Old Masonic Charges*, p. 47, *et seq.*, has given this manuscript to the public.

[2] *Natural History of Staffordshire*, §§ 85, 86. "Customs, etc., whereof they have one of admitting men into the society of Freemasons, that in the moorlands of the country be of great request, than anywhere else, though I find the custom spread more or less all over the nation, for here I found persons of the most exalted estates that did not disdain to be of the fellowship," etc.

tive workmen, actually employed in the construction of public edifices, there was much zeal manifested among the people of the most exalted positions to be admitted as members of these bodies, and who were accordingly introduced into the mystic rites practised in the lodges, and designated as "accepted Masons." The earliest use of these last words is to be found in Ashmole's Memoirs, where he states that, in the year 1682, on the 10th of March, he dined at the expense of the new "accepted Mason." This or analogous phraseology had already begun to prevail in a different form. In the year 1670, according to the Harleian manuscript,[1] the words "accepted a Freemason," were used to distinguish a Mason so received and taken by the fraternity without professional apprenticeship, from one who was initiated because of his vocation, and this signification is corroborated by Dr. Plot.[2]

A rapid change in the character of Masonic membership in England was effected during the seventeenth century. Although the non-operative Masons who were initiated into the mysteries of the order, at the opening of this century, no doubt constituted a greater or less minority, a decided transformation was brought about in the class of initiates towards the close of the seventeenth and the opening of the eighteenth century. By this fundamental alteration touching essential qualifications for membership without reserve, gentlemen, the learned of all professions, and noblemen, began to unite freely with the Freemasons, who had gradually ceased to exist as a strictly mechanical guild, by legal interdiction, in the year 1424. During the revolution of 1688, Freemasonry had a precarious existence; so much so, that seven lodges alone could be mustered on the rolls in London.[3] Preston alleges[4] that Sir Christo-

[1] No. 1942; also Hughan, *Old Masonic Charges*, p. 52, *et. seq.*

[2] *Natural History of Staffordshire, loc. cit.*

[3] Preston, *Illust. of Masonry*, p. 148; Anderson, *Ancient Constitutions*, p. 41.

[4] *Illustrations*, etc., p. 148.

pher Wren was appointed Grand Master of Masons in the year 1685, and that this distinguished architect, during the construction of St. Paul's, presided over St. Paul's Lodge of Freemasons. Halliwell, in his *Early History of Freemasonry in England*, quoting Aubrey, *Natural History of Wiltshire*, page 277, says: "*Memorandum.*—This May the 18th, being Monday, 1691, after Rogation Sunday, is a great convention at Saint Paul's church of the fraternity of the adopted Masons, where Sir Christopher Wren is to be adopted a brother, and Sir Henry Goodric of the Tower, and divers others." This statement, which has all the appearance of being authentic, is in direct antagonism to Preston's assertion, and is, historically considered, entitled to greater weight. The date assigned in the foregoing quotation is, no doubt, accurate, and establishes the time when this illustrious builder was initiated into the mysteries of the craft.

Under Queen Anne, Masonry seems to have been in a measure devitalized and notoriously languishing. With the exception of the old Saint Paul Lodge and a few others, the Freemasons in London do not appear to have met regularly for work;[1] and to such extremes was the fraternity reduced, that a formal proclamation was promulgated, announcing that henceforth the privileges of Freemasonry and right of initiation into the mysteries of the order should no longer, even in theory, be limited to architects or operative masons, but that all men, of whatsoever profession, after having been regularly approved and elected, should be entitled to the degrees[2] and become members of the order. Whatever may have been the predisposing cause which induced this new regulation to be thus published, is only subject of conjecture.[3] Although, from the

[1] Preston, *Illustrations of Masonry*, p. 148; Anderson, *Ancient Constitutions*, p. 47.

[2] Preston, *Illustrations, etc.*, p. 149.

[3] See Findel, *Geschichte der Freimaurerei*, p. 145, etc.

date[1] of this announcement, Freemasonry was publicly recognized as resting from its operative labors, in order more generally to cultivate the social and speculative, however such result had been practically attained long prior to this edict It is said[2] that in the year 1695, King William was privately initiated into a lodge at Hampton Court, which ever afterwards was the special object of his fraternal attentions, and in 1697, a General Assembly of Masons was convened to elect Charles, Duke of Richmond and Lenox, as Grand Master. On the 24th day of June, 1717, a Grand Lodge of Freemasons was formed on the express basis that old and immemorial usages and landmarks should be sacredly perpetuated.[3] And thus Freemasonry, after the gradual extinction of its operative features, consummated the speculative details by rigidly clinging to past traditions; and by the continuation of venerable symbols, rites, and ceremonies which, with slight modifications, still exist.

[1] Sometime after 1702, and evidently before 1717. Preston, *ut supra.*

[2] Preston, *Ibid.*, p. 148; Anderson, *Ancient Constitutions*, p. 43.

[3] At the time referred to, it was enacted by the Grand Lodge: "That every privilege which the lodges enjoyed by virtue of their immemorial rights, they should still continue to enjoy, and that no law, rule, or regulation, to be thereafter made or passed by the Grand Lodge, should ever deprive them of such privilege, or encroach on any landmark which was at that time established as the standard of Masonic government." Preston, *Illustrations of Masonry*, p. 151.

CHAPTER XV.

FREEMASONRY IN GERMANY — CATHEDRALS OF ULM AND NUREMBURG AND THEIR MASTER BUILDERS — GERMAN GRAND LODGE OF MASONS AND ERWIN VON STEINBACH — PAPAL CONFIRMATION — JURISDICTION OF THE SEVERAL GRAND BODIES — CONVENTION OF TORGAU — ANCIENT STONECUTTERS' LAW — OLD LANDMARKS REAFFIRMED AT TORGAU — THE CRAFT CONTINUE AS AN OPERATIVE SOCIETY UNTIL THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY — EDICT OF 1731 — GRAND LODGE OF STRASSBURG DESTROYED BY THE FRENCH REVOLUTION — LODGES ON THE CONTINENT OPENED UNDER ENGLISH CHARTERS — CAUSES CONTRIBUTING TO THE OVERTHROW OF THE FREEMASONS AS A BODY OF TRADESMEN.

TOWARDS the close of the fourteenth century, many new and splendid works of art were executed in Germany. The foundation walls of the Ulm cathedral were laid in the year 1377, and the edifice itself was completed in 1494, by Ulrich of Emsingen, who is said to have been the master architect and superintendent of the work. The choir slabs, wrought by the hands of Jörg Sirlen, a distinguished Master Mason of the fifteenth century, are especially noteworthy on account of a half life-sized figure which that artist has carved upon them. Over the upper entrance on the south side of this edifice, a sketch of the minster, hewn in stone, is still visible.[1] During the latter portion of the fourteenth century, Charles IV. caused the church of St. Stephen, at Tangermünde, to be constructed, of which Heinrich Bruns-

[1] Stieglitz, *Geschichte der Baukunst*, p. 584.

berg was master builder. The Laidies' Chapel, at Nuremburg, built during the reign of the above monarch, between the years 1361 and 1365, was erected by the joint labor of George and Fritz Ruprecht, Master Masons, assisted by one Selbald Schonhofer, noted as a skilled stonecutter. To this church an addition was made in the year 1462, under the direction of Adam Kraft, superintending Master Mason. The elegant baptisteries in the interior of the chapel, may be mentioned as the undoubted handicraft of the artisans who labored in the stonecutters' lodge near this building. During the period extending from 1361 to 1377, a new choir was added to the church of St. Sebald, whose principal attraction consists of the chaste and elaborate pilasters in the edifice, hewn by the skilful hands of ancient masters. Among the more notable objects possessed by this church, are some pieces of statuary by Adam Kraft, to whom reference has been made, who seems to have received material assistance from Master Peter Vischer, whose celebrated work, Sebald's grave,[1] is a permanent attraction to all lovers of the fine arts. Saint Mary's chapel, at Würzberg, commenced about the year 1377 and completed in 1414, and the work of the mediæval Masonic fraternity, merits especial attention for its curious carved statuesque imagery above the main entrance. The relief figures seem to have been placed there with direct and significant allusions to the corrupt condition of the Romish church.

At what period the Freemasons of Germany first instituted a Grand Lodge, or acknowledged the authority of a Grand Master, is uncertain. Stieglitz[2] says the building corporations in different parts of the empire stood in close

[1] Stieglitz, *Geschichte der Baukunst*, p. 587.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 610–611. Die Bauvereine der verschiedenen Reiche in Deutschland standen mit einander in genauer Verbindung, und sie erheilten, unterstützt von Königen und Päpsten immer mehr Festigkeit und gröszeres Ansehen.

connection with each other, and that they had, at an early date, received from various emperors and petty powers many substantial tokens of their approval and favor. The lodge of Strassburg, at its institution under Erwin of Steinbach, obtained from Rudolph I.[1] of Habsburg, especial privileges, in order to facilitate the procuration of skilled stonecutters.[2] In addition to these concessions, it also acquired independent jurisdiction, in accordance, perhaps, with usages and practices which had existed for ages, for the purpose of facilitating the uninterrupted progress of labor on the cathedral, and in order that strict order might be preserved.[3] In the year 1278, Pope Nicholas III. issued to this lodge a letter of indulgence, which was occasionally renewed by his successors, and ultimately confirmed by Benedict XII.[4] Evidently, therefore, at that time this fraternity of builders was established on a solid foundation. Whether the regulations of the society, in earlier ages, were preserved in a written form, cannot be ascertained with certainty; it is probable that they were propagated by oral proclamation. We know, however, that thirteen years after the completion of the Strassburg minster turret, Jacob Dotzinger, as master of masons employed on the cathedral, in the year 1452, succeeded in uniting the existing lodges of Germany in a general or grand body, and in the year 1459, at Regensburg, the statutes and general regulations of the stonecutters or

[1] Die Strassburger Haupthütte, welche, bei ihrem Entstehen unter dem groszen Baumeister Erwin von Steinbach, von Kaiser Rudolf von Habsburg mit bedentenden Privilegien bedacht worden. Scherr, *Deutsche Cultur*, p. 162.

[2] Um die Zuziehung geschichter Steinmetzen zu erleichteren. Stieglitz, *Geschichte der Baukunst*, p. 611.

[3] Delinquent Masons were rigidly punished by a regularly constituted court of the fraternity, which in 1275 was held in the open air at Strassburg. Brentano, *Hist. of Orig. and Develop. of Guilds*, p. cxxvi.

[4] Stieglitz, *Geschichte der Baukunst*, p. 611; Kloss, *Die Freimaurerei in ihrer wahren Bedeutung*, p. 9.

masons were reduced to writing.[1] In this constitution the authority of four Grand Lodges is recognized, viz.: Strassburg, Cologne, Vienna, and Zurich, under whose several jurisdictions various subordinate lodges were reorganized. Twenty-two lodges[2] were dependent on the Grand Lodge of Strassburg, and were dispersed throughout Swabia, Hesse, Bavaria, Franconia, Westphalia, Thuringia, the provincial territories bordering upon the Moselle, and as far as Italy. The Grand Lodge of Cologne exercised jurisdiction over cities along the Rhine. The territory of the Vienna grand body extended throughout Austria, Hungary, Steyermark, and the country on the confines of the Donau. Switzerland, and the lodges at Berne, Luzern, Scafhausen, St. Gale, and other cantons, were subject to the authority of the Zurich Grand Lodge. Among all the Grand Lodges of this age, that of Strassburg was preeminent, and was recognized as having supreme authority, and taking precedence over all Masonic bodies in the empire. Moreover, the master builder then at work on the minster at Strassburg was declared the Grand Master of the fraternity in Germany.[3] Several subsequent convocations, held at Speyer in the years 1464 and 1469, maintained the integrity of this compact.[4] During a period of thirty-four years, the fraternity of Freemasons preserved a languid existence, until the Emperor Maximilian, in the year 1498, while at Strassburg, vitalized the society by granting to the several regulations his imperial sanction and recognition.[5]

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[1] Stieglitz, *Ibid., loc. cit.*; Keller, *Kurzgefasste Geschichte der Freimaurerei*, p. 8; also Brentano, *ubi supra*, p. cxxxiv.

[2] Krause, *Die Drei ältesten Kunsturkunden*, Bd. II., Abt. 1, p. 286.

[3] "Der werkmeister Jöst Dotzinger oberster Richter sin sol, etc.," from the text, published by Krause, *ubi supra*; also Brentano, *Hist. and Devel. of Guilds*, p. cxxxiv.

[4] I shall have occasion to refer to the ordinance of 1462 hereafter.

[5] Kloss, *Die Freimaurerei in ihrer wahren Bedeutung*, p. 250.

A general assembly of the Masons, at Basel and Strassburg,[1] in the year 1563, reduced the preceding ordinances, which had gradually increased, in volume and number, into convenient form by compilation, which received the name of "Steinmetz Recht,"—stonecutters' law,—otherwise known as Brothers' Book.[2] The constitutions of 1563 were subsequently printed, and copies of the same distributed among the several Masonic lodges.[3] In this manner there exist two separate and distinct general regulations—the older of 1459, and the later of 1563, confirmatory of the first. There is another Masonic or stonecutters' ordinance, drawn up in the year 1462, which is of the highest importance. It far transcends in value all other German constitutions extant of that remote period, either in print or manuscript. Although these regulations never received that imperial sanction which made those of 1459 and 1563 of binding force upon the fraternity throughout Germany, yet, by solemn compact between the master builders of Magdeburg, Halberstadt, Hildesheim, Mullburg, Merseburg, Meissen, Voightland, and by the Masons of Thuringia and Hartzland, these statutes were enacted at Torgau during the days of Saint Bartholemew and Michelmas,[4] and deliberately agreed to as the law which should, in future, regulate and determine all matters pertaining to the craft residing upon the territory mentioned.[5] The introductory clause[6] of this valua-

[1] See prefatory clause of this ordinance in Krause, *ut supra*, p. 294.

[2] Stieglitz, *Geschichte der Baukunst*, pp. 610-612; Kloss, *Die Freimaurerei in ihrer wahren Bedeutung*, p. 251, etc.

[3] Scherr, *Deutsche Cultur*, p. 163.

[4] Proem, of *Ordnung der Steinmetzen vom Yahre* 1462, and Stieglitz, *supra*, p. 613.

[5] *Ordnung*, etc. For convenience I have used the edition of Stieglitz, published in his *Ueber die Kirche der heiligen Kunigunde*, p. 59, *et seq.*

[6] "Auf die heilige eide, die wir Steinwerck gethan haben, soliche ordnunge auffzunemen und zu bestettigen Inn diesem Lande nach gewonheit. Grossen Schaden und Unordnunge der werke, u. s. w." *Ordnung* 1462, p. 59.

ble constitution asserts that important changes[1] had crept into the Masonic organization, and abuses, unchecked, had begun to prevail in the lodges where the fraternity assembled. The professed object of the convocation at Torgau, in 1462, was to remedy the defects asserted to have obtained with the ordinances of Regensburg and Strassburg in 1459, and for the purpose of bringing the internal organization of Freemasonry back to its original consistency.[2] From this it will readily appear what inestimable assistance this regulation offers for investigating the landmarks of Masonry as they existed among the mediæval stonecutters in their ancient purity. The view afforded of the internal mechanism of lodge work and strange customs of that and preceding ages, can alone be found in this document, so solemnly and diligently prepared by the dissenting brethren of Torgau, who, as a society of conservators, sternly discarding all innovations,[3] tolerated no infringements upon established usages, but adhered rigidly to immemorial customs, such as their predecessors had practised from a remote period. In fact, the full details which are presented to us in this constitution, add many links to the subtle chain which carries Masonic symbolism far back to the opening dawn of Germanic civilization, long anterior to the introduction of Judaic or adventitious ritualism — back to a time when the refining influences of the Christian religion were unknown, when the Scandinavian warrior still appealed to his God of Battles, and the Norse priest celebrated the

[1] It is a singular coincidence that the Grand Orient of France, in 1801, ordered the publication of a standard ritual work in order to correct such infringements, and is styled *Regulateur du Maçon*. A copy of this book is in my possession.

[2] " Inn diesem Lande nach gewonheit, als disz Buch Clerlich auszweist das haben wir, etc." *Ordnung vom Yahre* 1462, p. 59.

[3] Ein solches zu Regiren und zu halden Inwirden nach der lande gewonheit und noth. Darumb haben wir etzliche auff das Beste ausgezogen aus dem Buche, etc. *Ibid.*

dread ceremonies of a mystic faith, amidst the revolting cruelties of human sacrifice.

There is no doubt that the framers of these regulations drew largely from older and authentic ordinances of the craft — older even than those which were used in the preparation of the constitutions[1] of 1459 at Regensburg and Strassburg. As a satisfactory attestation of this assumption, it will suffice to refer to the indignant protest of the Torgau dissenters against the changes which were made in the work, implying a grave variation from established usages, in order to harmonize with the newer phases of society.[2] Notwithstanding this later ordinance, the earlier one of 1459, and that of the year 1563, continued to exist as binding upon the Masons residing under the several jurisdictions as previously designated, and were regarded as the law for the lodges within their territorial limits. The constitution thus passed upon in 1462 was publicly read at each annual communication of masters and the brethren, and a strict conformity to it enjoined.[3] Many points of absorbing interest appear in these regula-

[1] Stieglitz, *Geschichte der Baukunst*, p. 613. The following is the phraseology: "Auch alle diese artigkel sindt gemacht worden ausz dem Texte des alden Haubtenrechtes." *Ordnung*, Proem, p. 60. The holy martyrs, there denominated as Christorius, Singnificamus, and Claudius, are asserted to be the original compilers of the stonemasons' law.

[2] "Und sie haben angesehen solichenn Schaden und Unordnunge der werke und Verseumnisse, ist geschehen en allen landen von den werkmeistern, pallirer und gesellen." *Ordnung* 1462, Proem, p. 59.

[3] Etzliche Stücke, die da not sein allen obern werkmeistern und gesellen auf das Kürtzte das das rechte Buch sol In ein bleyben und nicht gelesen werden den dess Yars, etc." *Ibid.*, p. 60. Perhaps the real design in their bringing these parts of the ordinance before the general or grand body was to give the Fellow craftsmen, who were there made Masters, an impressive opportunity to know the regulations. These general chapters, held each year, conferred the degree of Master on the Fellows. Vide Krause, *Die Drei ältesten Kunsturkunden*, Bd. II., Ab. 1, p. 314, and names given of such as had been thus made, in the year 1563, and appended to this charter. Also, Kloss, *Die Freimaurerei, etc.*, pp. 210–14.

tions which the former do not possess. It affords the means by which the history of lodge life can be traced with sufficient accuracy, and furnishes us an outline of such symbolic references as had continued uninterruptedly from times of the remotest antiquity down to the date of this curious document. It also teaches us the relative and reciprocal conduct of master and wardens towards the craft, and to each other. As a mere contribution to the history of morals of that age, the ordinance of 1462 is of the highest value;[1] but when the detached parcels of the same, disjointed though they be, are viewed with a critical eye, and examined from an archæological stand-point, the several details are of the most inestimable aid in establishing beyond controversy the absolute existence of the Gothic or Teutonic derivation of many mediæval Masonic symbols, which have been perpetuated to our day. Numerous facts are here brought to light, touching the internal government and the general regulations, which prevailed within the closed recesses of the lodge — facts which the constitutions of 1459 and 1563 utterly ignore, and exist alone in this invaluable Torgau ordinance of 1462.[2]

For a long time, the building corporations continued in active vitality in Germany, and with great benefit to architectural art.[3] Sufficiently fortunate in evading the

[1] Stieglitz, *Ueber die Kirche der heiligen Kunigunde*, p. 34.

[2] A document alleged to have been written in the year 1535, at Cologne, has recently attracted an undeserved attention from the German Masons. There is no doubt that the so-called Cologne manuscript was prepared between the years 1778 and 1786, for the especial object of directing the fraternity in strong antagonism against the Romish church. Keller, *Kurzgefasste Geschichte der Freimaurerei*, p. 100, very justly observes, "to accept the genuineness of this Cologne document, would totally change the entire front of Freemasonry." It was evidently drawn up by strong partisan Masons, about the time mentioned, to counteract the edict of Clement XII., in 1738, against the Freemasons.

[3] Stieglitz, *Baukunst*, p. 625.

fate to which the English fraternity had succumbed early in the fifteenth century, German Freemasonry still existed as an operative science. It coöperated with princes and ecclesiastics to construct churches and many other important buildings of public worth. It also assisted in the moralistic education[1] of its members with equal success. Notwithstanding that, during the closing years of the mediæval era, fine arts had in a measure degenerated, and that the artistic, delicately-wrought workmanship no longer appears, yet, withal, a fair knowledge of the practical details, especially in the constructive principles of the arch, was as yet retained.[2] And although the fraternities of stonecutters had descended from the high and noble ideality of more ancient times, and gradually assimilated to a mere craft guild or union — and for this conjecture the Constitution of 1563 affords a reasonable ground; and although the artist no longer strove to imbue himself with the wonderful properties of abstruse and abstract geometry, but, with apparent indifference, hesitated upon the threshold of a higher and nobler science, practising his profession simply by gauge admeasurement; notwithstanding these flagrant departures from old and established methods, there still permeated the fraternity that activity and life which a struggle for the good and perfect engendered.[3]

Political dissensions and troubles — which have ever been the enemies of art — contributed materially to accelerate the destruction of German Freemasonry as an operative body. The capture of Strassburg, in the seventeenth century, by the French, remorselessly removed the keystone from the arch of Masonry in the German em-

[1] Numerous proofs of this attempt clearly appear in nearly all the German ordinances, particularly in that of 1462.

[2] Stieglitz, *ut supra*, p. 626.

[3] Poole, *Ecclesiastical Architecture*, p. 118, pays the Middle-Age Freemasons a flattering compliment at the expense of modern Masonry.

pire.[1] In the year 1707,[2] an imperial Diet promulgated a decree interdicting the lodges of the empire from a further recognition of the authority, hitherto acknowledged, due the Grand Lodge of Strassburg. This statute was a severe blow to the unity of the German Freemasons, and from this time the fraternity, as a body of operatives, rapidly advanced to a dissolution.[3] However, to effect a total and complete extinction of closely-organized associations of the stonecutters or Freemasons, an additional imperial decree was published in the year 1731, which, under severe penalties, forbid all lodges in Germany from obligating any initiate to silence touching the craft secrets imparted him.[4] By the crushing weight of this edict, Freemasonry, in the year 1731, ceased to exist in the empire as an operative body.[5] In many localities, it was divided into different branches of mechanical trades. The masons and carpenters usually fraternized in the same guild.[6] The preparation of finer ornamentation for edifices was abandoned to sculptors, and everywhere corporations of these artificers sprung into existence, who wrought out

[1] Kloss, *Die Freimaurerei in ihr. w. Bedeutung*, p. 255.

[2] Steiglitz, *Geschichte der Baukunst*, p. 626.

[3] In order to give greater effectiveness to his reasoning touching the claims of Germany to the pointed arch, Hope, *Essay on Architecture*, Vol. I., p. 526, asserts that the Freemasons preserved their footing and credit longest in that country.

[4] "Ein anderer Reichstagschluss, vom Yahre 1731, allen damals in Deutschland betstehenden Hütten verbot, die aufzunehmenden Mitglieder zum Verschweigen der Kunstheimlichkeiten zu vereiden." Stieglitz, *Geschichte der Baukunst*, p. 626.

[5] Kloss, *Die Freimaurerei in ihrer wahren Bedeutung*, p. 256. This imperial interdiction not only extended to forbid such secret communication to newly-initiated members, but solemnly declared such as had been thus obligated freed and relieved from their oaths: "so seynd sie von solchem eid hiermit völlig losgesprochen." *Ibid.*, p. 269.

[6] As previously noted, the mediæval carpenters were affiliated with the bodies of architects, according to Marchese, *Vie dei Architette*, etc., Tomo I., p. 143. *Carpentarius*, usata sempre dal necrologio a significazione di architetto. *Ibid.*, p. 144.

the same character of handiwork as the stonecutters; while the latter, from the abrupt dissolution of their fraternal privileges, merely pursued the humbler avocation of chiselling piece-work, and the master builders labored in future for their individual gain, without social relations with each other or with the guilds. Stonecutters' corporations, scattered and remote from one another, maintained a shadowy resemblance of former Masonic associations, upon the groundwork of the statute of 1563 — as, for example, the several lodges of Basel, Zurich, Hamburg, and Dantzig[1]; but the vital spirit which had animated architectural art was gone, and the living principle which, in earlier and more favorable times, had quickened and unified distant and widespread fraternities, barely survived, while the mere shell, shrivelled into a caricature of healthy growth, alone remained.

At the close of the seventeenth century, the conquest of Strassburg and Alsace, by the French, changed the intimate relations of the remaining lodges of Germany.[2] Upon the incorporation of Alsace with France, the Imperial Diet, held in Germany, in 1707, as alluded to, enacted the decree interdicting further obedience by subordinate lodges to the Grand Lodge of Strassburg, by reason of that city having become an integral portion of a foreign empire. This ordinance, however, was not vigorously enforced, because, so late as the year 1725, a lodge of stonecutters at Rochlitz still maintained fraternal intercourse with the original grand body in the abovenamed city, and recognized it as absolutely essential to procure the sanction of the Strassburg Grand Lodge, in order to render authoritative the regulations which Ferdinand II. had confirmed.[3] It is, at all events, fairly pre-

[1] Stieglitz, *Geschichte der Baukunst*, p. 627.

[2] Kloss, *Die Freimaurerei in ihrer wahren Bedeutung*, p. 255. Both the authors cited have drawn their material apparently from the *Theatrum Europæum*, Tome XVIII., p. 45.

[3] Stieglitz, *Ueber die Kirche der heiligen Kunigunde zu Rochlitz*, p. 23.

sumable, that the Dresden lodges acknowledged a dependence on this body, otherwise it cannot be inferred that the Rochlitz Masons could have sustained such subjective relations with a foreign jurisdiction. And in order that this principle of traditional, or, rather, immemorial, obedience might be perpetuated, the Grand Lodge of Strassburg yielded to the demands of the lodge at Rochlitz, upon conditions which would, for all time, render requisite the recognition of this grand jurisdiction as the highest tribunal of justice for Masons, and also to remain true and faithful to their allegiance. It was furthermore stipulated, as a symbol of obedience, that each year a Bohemian groschen should be tendered.[1]

That the stonecutters' lodge at Rochlitz remained in strict union with the Masonic filiations of Strassburg, admits of no doubt. As late as the sixth decade[2] of the last century, that grand body communicated officially with the Rochlitz lodge, reminding the members of the annual tribute of groschen. The letters adverting to this service are still preserved in the archives of this last-mentioned fraternity.[3] These admonitions, moreover, attest the melancholy fact that the fraternal bonds which had existed for successive ages between these bodies of Masons were gradually loosening, and, to all appearances, had nearly ceased to manifest themselves by a reciprocal regard. When the Grand Lodge of Strassburg was totally extinguished, through the agencies provoked by the French revolution, the last ties of jurisdiction, which had been maintained uninterruptedly through five centuries, were relentlessly severed.[4] It is, therefore, manifest that Freemasonry in the German empire, at so late a period at least

[1] Stieglitz, *Geschichte der Baukunst*, p. 627; Ibid., *Ueber die Kirche der heiligen Kunigunde zu Rochlitz*, p. 24.

[2] Kloss, *Die Freimaurerei in ihrer wahren Bedeutung*, p. 257.

[3] Stieglitz, *Ueber die Kirche der heiligen Kunigunde*, p. 24.

[4] Stieglitz, *Baukunst*, p. 628.

as the close of the eighteenth century, retained much of an operative character.[1] In the year 1823, the Masonic lodge at Rochlitz obtained from the Saxon government a new class of regulations, which, according to Stieglitz,[2] had but little in common with the old rules, and, with the single exception of the duration of apprenticeship, which was reënacted, preserved nothing of their mediæval characteristics. At all events, it is worthy of note, that although the final and absolute cessation of operative masonry has hitherto been assigned to the year 1717 in England, and in Germany to the period of the capture of Strassburg, yet there are unmistakable indications that English Freemasonry had, early in the fifteenth century, assumed a speculative type, while in the German empire, the original operative nature of the ancient building corporations was certainly continued to the termination of the eighteenth century, with a strong probability of having perpetuated itself distinctly to the present century. Dr. Scherr[3] has justly remarked that the shattered fragments of English Middle-Age Freemasonry furnished largely the material for the speculative or modern society of Masons, and that it was upon the basis of ancient religious and social ideas, as embodied in these fraternities, that the present organization has been propagated. Freemasonry, therefore, in its new attire, rapidly extended to the Continent, and especially in France and Germany, where numerous lodges were opened.[4] It can scarcely be

[1] See Hope, *Essay on Architecture*, Vol. I., p. 526.

[2] Stieglitz, *Ibid.*, p. 628.

[3] *Deutsche Cultur*, p. 163. "In England wurde nämlich im Yahr 1717 auf Grund der religiösen und sozialen Idee der Mittelaterichen Bauhütte die Genossenschaft der Freimaurer gegrundet, welche sich rasch auch auf dem Continent verbreitete und namentlich in Frankreich und Deutschland zahlreiche Hütten eröffnete."

[4] Findel, *Geschichte der Freimaurerei*, pp. 274, 282. I take pleasure in recommending this work to all who desire an accurate history of Freemasonry in its modern extension.

presumed that the ritual work thus introduced into Germany was accepted without modification, or that many symbolic appliances, preserving a vigorous vitality in the Masonic craft guilds, were not merged into, and made an integral portion of, the forms and initiatory ceremonies.[1]

In its early history, Freemasonry everywhere applied the unlimited resources of architectural skill to developing divine ideas through symbolized stone. Operative Masonry erected to God the grandest temples of earth, and filled them with aspiring pilasters and mystic arches. Freemasonry worked out in granite blocks the thoughts and aspirations of the Middle Ages. Popular imagination found its correct exponent, and religion conveyed its most impressive lessons of faith and submission, in these works of art. No other means could so accurately evoke that Christian emotional element underlying the rude and rugged character of social life at this period. The single object which presented itself to the Masonic architect was to find suitable expression for the heart-yearnings and moral aspirations of the people. This purpose was pursued with a persistent zeal,[2] which resulted in art productions of wondrous beauty and uniformity. So long as architecture realized the anticipations of the Middle Ages; so long as Freemasonry, through the erection of superb edifices, furnished an adequate outlet for national ideas, just that long Masonry continued to create exquisite temples of worship, and preserved a vigorous existence as an operative science. When, however, popular thought found expression by

[1] Perhaps, in various localities, the emblematic uses of numerous things connected with operative Masonry may have suggested their incorporation with the English symbols; at all events, there are ritualistic or symbolic differences existing between the German work as now practised and that transmitted through the older English craftsmen.

[2] Luebke, *Geschichte der Plastik*, p. 442.

means of printing-presses, church architecture began immediately to retrograde, and, with it, operative Masonry rapidly declined.[1]

A remarkable fact connected with mediæval architecture is its invariably progressive character; but what is even more striking, has been alluded to previously—the unceasing and unchanging uniformity of Gothic architectural art which prevailed throughout Europe.[2] During the Middle Ages, when Freemasonry was a craft in the hands of a corporate ecclesiastical fraternity, the members were bound down to certain rules, and yet possessed unlimited license in carrying those rules into effect. For instance, precisely in the same way as if the alphabet of a language were given to any one, and he were allowed to form whatever combination of which the letters were susceptible, but not to introduce new forms and symbols.[3] The great glory of the Gothic or Teutonic style[4] is its perfect unity, combined with almost infinite variety. In order to preserve that striking similitude existing between the productions of operative Masonry, constructed at remote distances from each other, constant communication was kept up with all the members of the numerous and widely-extended body of Masonic craftsmen; and when we consider the unvarying uniformity of style displayed in the construction of

[1] Le livre va tuer l'édifice. L'invention de l'imprimerie est le plus grand événement de l'histoire. C'est le mode de l'expression de l'humanitié qui se renouvelle totalement, c'est la pensée humaine qui dépouille une forme et qui en revît une autre. C'est le complet et définitif changement de peau de ce serpent symbolique. L'architecture est detronée. Victor Hugo, *Notre Dame de Paris*, Livr. 5ième, chap. 11.

[2] Hope, *Historical Essay on Architecture*, Vol. I., p. 241.

[3] Paly, *Manual of Gothic Architecture*, pp. 206–207. See, however, Poole, *Ecclesiastical Architecture in England*, p. 119, where doubts are expressed touching the uniformity alleged.

[4] Hope, *ubi supra*, cap. xxxvi., gives the invention, no doubt justly, of this feature of mediæval architecture to the Germans. See Hawkins, *Hist. of the Origin of Gothic Architecture*, p. 143.

churches and cathedrals, and the immense number erected in every country till the overthrow of the ancient religion, we shall perceive how complete the intercourse among the Masons, of necessity, must have been.[1] With the extinction of mediæval Freemasonry, many of the abstruse and abstract principles of the building art were totally lost.[2]

[1] Paly, *ubi supra*, pp. 202, 220; Hope, *ut supra*, Vol. I., p. 238.

[2] Touching this, see Poole, *ubi supra*, p. 118, and Hope, *Ibid.*, p. 527.

CHAPTER XVI.

LEGENDARY HISTORY OF THE MASONIC FRATERNITY — ARTS AND SCIENCES CONCEALED IN COLUMNS — TOWER OF BABEL — EUCLID AND THE EGYPTIAN PRINCES — THE ISRAELITES OBTAIN MASONIC KNOWLEDGE FROM EGYPT — SOLOMON AND HIRAM THE CHIEF ARCHITECTS IN BUILDING THE JEWISH TEMPLE — NAMUS GRAECUS INTRODUCES MASONRY TO THE FRANKISH KING CHARLES MARTEL — SAINT ALBAN, OF ENGLAND, PROCURES MASONS FROM FRANCE — CALLS AN ASSEMBLY OF THE CRAFT — KING ATHELSTAN CONFIRMS THE PRIVILEGES OF THE FRATERNITY — PRINCE EDWIN IS INITIATED, AND BECOMES GRAND MASTER — COLLECTS TRADITIONS AND ESTABLISHES CHARGES.

IN order to suitably terminate this portion of my work, I shall now proceed to give a detailed narration of the legendary history of the craft; of such portions, at least, as were current among the mediæval Freemasons, and, contrary to the usual method of transcribing the traditions, I give them divested of their antique phraseology, which, when necessary, will be found noted in the margin. The operative Masons of the Middle Ages had accepted the division of all knowledge into seven liberal arts and sciences, of which, as previously stated, Cassiodorus[1] was the author, and were thus specified: first, Grammar, which inculcated proper use of orthography and correct speech; second, Rhetoric, by the skilful application of which the Mason could argue in subtle

[1] This septenary arrangement was adopted so early as the fifth century, by Marcianus Capella. Alcuinus, in the eighth century, did the same, with no other difference than including arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy under the general term of mathematics. Fosbroke, *British Monachism*, p. 247.

terms. The third was Dialectics, by which he was enabled to distinguish truth from falsehood; fourth, Arithmetic aided him in accurate reckoning, and provided established principles for scientific accounts. To the practical workman of this age, the fifth, Geometry, was most highly prized, because, according to his article of belief, this science yielded him the greatest assistance in boundaries and measurement of the earth and of all things. To express adequately the high appreciation of this science, he denominated it Masonry. The sixth was Music, which regulated and attuned the voice of man to song, and taught him the harmonies of tongue and organ, of harp and trumpet. Astronomy, the seventh and last division, delineated the course of the sun, moon, and stars.

All these scholastic sciences the mediæval craftsman assumed to be the outgrowth of one unchangeable principle, which was geometry.[1] After having demonstrated the vast obligation which all classes of workmen, and the craft in general, are under to geometry, the manuscripts proceed to define the descent of Masonry, or geometry, from times of the highest antiquity. They allege that before the flood there was a man named Lamech, whose children, among whom were Jabell, Jubell, and Tuball Cain, framed many universal sciences; but Jabell, the elder son, invented geometry,[2] and by its strict rules divided the flocks of sheep and lambs in the fields, and first wrought stones and timber for dwellings. Jubell, his brother, established musical science, the basis of song, of the harp and organ. The third son, Tuball Cain, was distinguished as the inventor of the art of working gold, silver, copper, iron, and steel. These artists, well knowing that the crimes and sins of mankind would ultimately be avenged by a univer-

[1] Cooke MSS., No. 23,198.

[2] "He was name mast mason and governor of all Adam's werkes when he made ye citie of Enoch." Cooke MSS., No. 23,198.

sal deluge, drew up their several sciences and committed them to the silent but safe custody of two pillars of stone,[1] in order that, after the subsidence of Noah's flood, future generations might possess what they had discovered. One of these was hewn from marble, to resist the ravages of fire; the other was constructed of laterns, in order to withstand inundation.[2] After the deluge, Sem's grandson, Hermarynes, subsequently called Hermes the Father of Wise Men, found one of these stone columns, with the written tablets contained in it.[3] Through this discovery other men were made acquainted with the science.[4]

At the building of the Tower of Babel, Masonry was first regularly organized into a corporate body. According to the Cooke MSS., one of Noah's sons constructed this famous fabric, and for services rendered by masons in the work, "he loved and cherished them well." The legends naively assert[5] that Nimrod, king of Babylon, was a Mason himself, and deeply interested in the science. And when Nineveh and other Oriental cities were built, Nimrod, at the request of his cousin, king of Nineveh, provided him with threescore masons to assist in these constructions. Upon their departure, Nimrod gave them strictly in charge to remain steadfastly true to one another, avoid dissensions and live in harmony, and that they should serve their lord truly for pay, in order that the Master might always have proper worship. This was the

[1] Dowland MSS. "And wherefore they writt their science that they had found in two pillars of stone, that they might be found after Noyes flood." Vide Hughan, *Old Masonic Charges*, p. 26.

[2] Dowland MSS; Hughan, *Ibid.* "And that one stone was marble, for that would not burn with fire; and that other stone was laterns, and would not drown in water."

[3] The discovery of these records is thus mentioned by Dowland MSS.: "Hermarynes afterwards found one of the two pillars of stone, and found the science written there." Also Hughan, *ut supra.*

[4] Dowland's MSS.; Hughan, *Old Masonic Charges*, p. 26.

[5] Cooke MSS., No. 23,198.

earliest recorded instance of Masons having had charges given them. Abraham went into Egypt and there taught the seven liberal sciences to the people of that country, and among others, Euclid was his disciple.[1] Euclid readily mastered Masonry, and became a learned master of the whole seven sciences.[2] It so happened in his day, that lords and the estates of the Egyptian kingdom had so largely increased their families, legitimately and otherwise, that there was not sufficient sustenance for them. The tradition further recites that Egypt was of plenteous generation on account of extreme heat. In order to remedy the serious difficulty caused by this vast multiplicity of inhabitants, the royal predecessor of the Pharaohs summoned a grand council to suggest some means by which the children of Egypt might live as gentlemen; but this illustrious body of wise Egyptians was unable to meet the emergency, and were compelled to make proclamation for some one wiser than themselves of an expedient, for which he should receive a suitable reward.[3]

In consequence of this solemn edict, Euclid appeared, and said to the king and his great lords, substantially as follows: "If you will permit me to govern your children, and to teach them one of the liberal sciences, they shall cease in future to be a burden to your lordships, and for this purpose I demand a commission or charter that will enable me effectually to rule them in such manner as is consistent with the regulations of science." This sage suggestion was forthwith acted upon, and Euclid, possessed of his royal warrant, to which no doubt the broad seal of Egypt was attached, immediately proceeded to inculcate

[1] "Ye clerke euclyde on yys wyse hyt founde,
Yys crafte of geometry yn egypt londe."
Halliwell MSS., 17 A1, folio 4.

[2] Dowland MSS.; Hughan, *op. et loc. cit.*

[3] Dowland MSS.; Hughan, *Old Masonic Charges*, p. 26.

into these genteel sons the principles of geometry.[1] He instructed them in the art of hewing stone, and to adapt it to the building of churches, castles, towers, temples, etc. Others say[2] that this distinguished scientist signalized himself in constructing ditches or canals to irrigate land along the river Nile. That his services might be more complete, and deserving of the encomiums of these perplexed aristocrats, he gave them charges, and ordained that they should be true to the king and their lord for whom they worked. They should also love one another, and live harmoniously together; and should call each other fellow or brother, not servant or knave, nor other scurrilous name. They should, by diligent labor, fairly deserve and earn their pay of the master. The wisest among them should be selected as master, not on account of his lineage, riches, or favor, but for his merit and cunning in the work, and all this in order that the lord or employer might be served with fidelity and zeal. The governor or superintendent of the works should be called master. Euclid compelled them to swear a solemn oath, such as men used in his day, that they would faithfully preserve these regulations. He also decreed reasonable wages sufficient to provide for an honest livelihood.[3] Furthermore, that each year thereafter they should assemble in general convocation to discuss such measures as would best serve their employers' interests and reflect honor upon themselves. He granted them the power to correct any irregularities arising in the craft, and call to account all who trespassed against the science of masonry.[4] In this manner Euclid established geometry in Egypt, and thenceforth in that land it was denominated Masonry.

[1] Then Euclid:

"Yn Egypt, he taught hyt ful wyde,
Yn dyvers londe on every syde."

Halliwell MSS., 17 A1, folio 4.

[2] Cooke MSS., No. 23,198.

[3] Dowland MSS.; Hughan, *Old Masonic Charges*, p. 27. [4] *Ibid.*

A long time afterwards the children of Israel, during a sojourn in Egypt, acquired the science of Masonry, and when they were driven out of the land of the Egyptians, carried their Masonic knowledge into the land of Behest, or Jerusalem.[1] King David began the temple, called *Templum Domini*, now designated as the temple of Jerusalem. This monarch constituted himself a patron of the Masons, and by every means in his power endeavored to show how highly he prized them. Although he adhered to the charges of Euclid, the Masons received from him enlarged powers for the internal government of the craft, and an increase of wages. Upon the accession of Solomon to the Israelitish throne, he pushed forward with vigor the projects of his father, and hastened the completion of the temple. This king collected from various countries of the world a larger class of skilled workmen, who numbered fourscore thousand hewers of stone. Among other changes made by Solomon, he selected three thousand[2] of the most expert operatives, and placed them as governors or superintendents of the work.[3] All these were classed under the general term of Masons. At this time Solomon received many flattering indications of the friendly spirit of neighboring rulers, and among others, Hiram, king of Tyre,[4] who offered him the resources of the Tyrian kingdom. By this means the king of Israel was enabled to procure such timber as was essential in the construction of the temple. A son of Hiram, Aynon,[5]

[1] Cooke MSS., No. 23,198; Dowland MSS.; Hughan, *loc. cit.* See Part II. of this work, on *Faculty of Abrac.*

[2] Hughan, *Old Masonic Charges*, p. 27. The Lansdowne MSS., Plut. lxxv., E, also fixes the number of master craftsmen at three thousand. This manuscript is said to have been written in the year 1560.

[3] See *Regulateur du Maçon*, 1801 (Grade de Maitre), p. 17, where the exact figures furnished by Anderson in his *Ancient Constitutions*, 1723, p. 10, also appear, and lead to the presumption that the same source of information was accessible to both compilations.

[4] Lansdowne MSS., *ut supra*, and Hughan, *ubi supra.*

[5] Dowland MSS.; Hughan, *Ibid.*; Harleian MSS., No. 2054, folio 34 The Sloane MSS., No. 3323, says Dynoi, both evidently corrupted from Hiram

by name, was appointed master mason of this great work, and was especially distinguished for his geometric knowledge. He was chief master of all the masons engaged in the erection of the Jewish temple, and was a proficient master of engraving and carving, and all manner of masonry required for the sacred edifice. Solomon, according to old books of the craft, confirmed the ancient charges, and sanctioned the customs which had prevailed during his father's reign, which the chronicles affirm to be but little different from those then practised.[1] In this manner the worthy science of masonry was introduced into the country of Jerusalem, and thence propagated throughout many kingdoms.

In those distant times, as well as in our age, it would seem that intelligent workmen were inspired with a laudable desire to render themselves more proficient, and to obtain from more skilled operatives that art knowledge which they possessed not. This inducement influenced the illustrious Naymus Graecus, or Naymus the Grecian, to whom reference at length has been made heretofore. Naymus, incited by a zealous impulse to acquire a thorough and complete mastery of Masonic science, had repaired to the Jewish metropolis, and placed himself under the instruction of Hiram, chief master at the building of Solomon's temple. Having amassed a sufficient fund of geometric information, or Masonry, the adventurous Greek abandoned the Orient, and, weighted with Masonic knowledge, arrived in France. Here he was right royally received by his majesty, Charles Martel.[2] This renowned and warlike nobleman of high degree, being likewise influenced by a sincere wish to learn the arts and points of Masonry, selected Naymus Graecus for his master, who taught him this science. The Carlovingian monarch voluntarily took upon himself the charges and customs of the Masons; and

[1] Cooke MSS., No. 23,198.

[2] Or, according to Cooke's MSS., Charles II.

subsequently, as our chroniclers inform us, he ascended the throne of France.[1] In this way Masonry was established in that kingdom.

During the successive epochs to which we have alluded, the English realm, as our traditions inform us, was destitute of the science of Masonry. This state of lamentable ignorance continued down to the age of Saint Alban.[2] In his day the kings of England were still accustomed to practise the heathenish rites of their ancient religion, and, although the ruling monarch appears to have detested the principles of the Christian creed, nevertheless, urged by the necessities of barbaric warfare, and desirous of having a more complete system of fortifications, the king induced Saint Alban to wall the town, which subsequently bore the ecclesiastic's name, and strengthened its natural defences. This worthy saint received the honors of knighthood, from whom is uncertain, and was the trusted steward of the royal household. As a member of the king's council, he governed the English kingdom with all the powers of a prime minister, and also superintended all building operations which were carried on to fortify various cities in the land. Saint Alban cherished the Masons with much zeal, and, in addition to other substantial tokens of his love for the fraternity, he gave them a practical evidence of such regard, by enhancing the price

[1] There is a germinal truth in the quaint assertion of these Masonic chronicles, and for an examination of the probable relation of Charles Martel to Masons, see Part II., p. 282, etc.

[2] Plot, *Natural History of Staffordshire*, § 85, says the history of the craft in his day was contained "in a parchment volume, which is there deduced not from sacred writ but profane story, and particularly, that it was brought into England by St. Amphibal and communicated to St. Alban." In this point the constitution quoted by Krause, *Die Drei ältesten Urkunden*, Bd. II., Ab. 1, p. 84, agrees with the foregoing: "Amfiabalus hiess und deiser wurde Lehrer (doctor) des heiligen Albanns." See Hughan, *Old Masonic Charges*, p. 84, for translation of the entire text.

of labor and regulating their wages.[1] He enacted that the following schedule of pay should thenceforth be observed throughout the realm, viz.:

For a Mason, 11*s.* vi. a week.

For other than a Mason, iii*d.* a week.

Up to the time of Saint Alban, an English mason received only a penny, with his meat, for each day's labor. Through his influence the king and council were induced to grant the Masons a charter for better government, which furthermore empowered them to assemble in general convention. To this convocation the name of assembly was given. Saint Alban attended the assembly, and personally assisted in making Masons. But the most valued contribution of this distinguished prelate, consisted in the presentation to the craft thus convened a set of charges.[2]

After the death of St. Alban, the kingdom of England was rent with internal dissensions and foreign invasions to such extent that the beneficent rule of Masonry was suspended until King Athelstane became king. This worthy ruler succeeded, after infinite labor, in pacifying the turbulence of his subjects, and finally reduced the country to a condition of peace and quietude. Athelstane erected a number of important public edifices, and among these were many abbeys and numerous towns. It is particularly mentioned that the English king loved the

[1] Nearly all the ancient manuscripts are agreed as to the benefactions of this saint, and that he first brought Masonry into England during Athelstane's time. The Halliwell MSS., 17 A1, folio 5, is very brief upon this question:

> "Yys crafte come yn to England as yu yode say
> Yn tyme of good Kynge Aedelstand."

[2] Cooke MSS., No. 23,198; Dowland MSS. and Hughan, *Old Masonic Charges*, p. 28; Lansdowne MSS., No. 98, Plut. lxxv., E. The York MSS. also awards praise to St. Alban in this behalf. Preston, *Illustrations of Masonry*, p. 103, note (5), says, in this connection, that many of the records containing the history of St. Alban and the craft were purposely destroyed in the year 1720, by a misguided zeal.

Masons; but, according to the assertion of our gossiping records, not nearly so much as his son Edwin, "for he loved the Masons more than his father did." Edwin seems to have possessed a decided genius for geometry, and yielded to the attractions of Masonic science, which he practised with intense zeal. And in order to make himself more proficient in the details of this art, he gathered around him the craft, and communed with them. Subsequently, as it would appear, from pure affection, he was initiated into their secret mysteries, and became an ardent Mason.[1] By virtue of his royal patronage, he procured for the Masons a charter and commission to hold once in each year a general assembly, in whatever locality they might be directed to convene within the realm. Among other concessions enumerated in this warrant, was the power to correct defaults and trespasses which would impair the success of Masonic science. Prince Edwin called an assembly of the fraternity at York, and "there made some Masons." He enacted a system of charges, and established certain usages, which he strictly enjoined upon the craft evermore to obey. The prince retained the charter in his own custody, and ordained that the same should be renewed under succeeding reigns. When this famous assemblage of Masons, with Edwin as President or Grand Master, had convened at York, he caused a proclamation to be made, that every Mason, old or young, having in his possession anything touching charges or usages, as hitherto practised in that or other countries, whether in writing or merely oral, should forthwith produce them. After the publication of this announcement, numerous charges were brought forward and delivered to the royal Master. Many of them were found to have been written in French, some in English, others in Greek, and, according to the Lansdowne manuscript, some were

[1] See the manuscripts cited, *supra*; and Hughan, *Old Masonic Charges*, p. 28

in Hebrew and in other languages.[1] The spirit of these, upon examination, was discovered to be identical. Edwin caused them to be drawn up in book-form, and prefaced them with a narrative of the origin of geometry or Masonic science. He also commanded for the future, at the making of a Mason, these charges should be read or recited to the initiate. And thenceforth, as the sage chronicler observes, Masonic usages have rigidly conformed to this order, so far as men might control the same. Since the time of Edwin, frequent assemblies have been held, and certain charges added and enjoined, which, in the opinion of able Masters and Fellows, were essential to the interests of the fraternity. Here the legendary narrative terminates; then one of the wardens shall hold the Book, so that he or they, who are to be accepted as Masons, should place their hands in position upon it, and then the charges must be read:[2]

Every man who shall be made a Mason will take heed of these charges,[3] and if any one find himself guilty of violating them, or any of them, he must make humble amends to God. The most important of all is, for him who has taken upon himself these charges, to have precaution to keep the same, because it is a great peril if a man forswear or perjure himself upon the book (Bible). The first charge is that a Mason shall be true to God and the Holy Church, and shall countenance neither error nor

[1] Halliwell and the Cooke MSS. say nothing of Hebrew or Greek.

[2] "Tunc unus ex senioribus teneat Librum ut ille vel illi poniat vel poniant manus super Librum et tunc precepta deberent legi." This formal direction is to be found in nearly all the old manuscripts. The foregoing is, however, copied from one of the York craft records and the Harleian manuscript, No. 2054.

[3] Although the following portions of the history of the fraternity cited in the text belong more properly to its antiquities, and should perhaps be treated of in Part II. of this work, nevertheless, for the purpose of presenting in a connected form these charges preserved by tradition, I have decided to add them here.

heresy, deduced from his own understanding or from the teachings of learned men.[1] He was also obliged by his oath to be a true and liege man to the kings of England, without treason or falsehood, and in case he became privy to such treason or treachery, it was his duty to make suitable amend, if possible, or warn his sovereign or council of such designs. Masons should be true and faithful to one another: that is, every Mason regularly initiated into the science of Masonry or so accepted, should do unto other Masons as he would they should do unto him. Each craftsman was compelled to preserve with zealous care lodge deliberations or secrets of the chamber, and all other councils which, so far as affected Masonry, ought to be concealed. It was also charged upon the fraternity that no member should be addicted to thieving, but must restrain his brethren by every means within his power; that he should be true to the lord or master whom he served, or for whom he worked, and labor honestly for his employer's profit and advantage. Masons shall call one another as brothers or fellows, and avoid objectionable names; nor shall they take their brother's wife in villany. No Mason should tolerate an unchaste desire for his fellow's daughter or servant, nor put his master to shame. Wherever the craft lodged, they should pay in all fairness for their meat and drink, and were carefully enjoined against the commission of any villanous acts in that place which might bring discredit or slander upon the science of Masonry.[2] These were the charges which affected all Masons in general, but were also to be observed by Masters and Fellows. Other rules, particularly designed for the Masters and Fellows, are substantially as follows: That no master should assume any lord's work unless he knew himself qualified

[1] "He must love God and holy church always." Halliwell MSS., 17 A1, folio 11; Lansdowne MSS., No. 98 Plut. L., xxv. E.

[2] The several manuscripts already referred to have been used in preparing the regulations given in the text.

to complete the same, in order that the craft and science might not be brought into disrepute, and in order that the lord might be well and truly served. It was enjoined that each master builder should avoid contracting for specific labor, but was required to take it at reasonable rates, so that his employer might be abundantly aided with his own goods, that the Master could live honestly and pay the Fellows justly the wages due them, according to a proper schedule. Neither a Master Mason nor a Fellow was permitted to supplant one another in individual work; that is to say, if any one had agreed to superintend a lord's work, no one should undermine him, particularly if he were able to finish the job as undertaken. All apprentices must be taken for a period of seven years, at least, and such apprentice was required to be able, free-born, his limbs and members sound, without blemish, as a man should be.[1] No Mason could be made a Master or Fellow, without the assent and counsel of his fellows, before six or seven years had elapsed; and whoever would be made a Mason, in order to receive his degrees, must be a free-born citizen of good repute, and having a reputation for fidelity, and not a bondsman. No Mason should receive an apprentice unless he had occupation for two Fellows, or perhaps three. When any work had hitherto been accustomed to be done as task or contract labor, no master should be allowed to take a lord's work by the day, or, as it was designated, by the journey. Every Master Mason was necessitated to provide suitable compensation for his fellows, for such at least as were deserving of it, and especial care was to be taken that false workmen did not deceive

[1] It will suffice to quote here Halliwell MSS., 17 A1, as containing the most ancient traditional foundations upon which speculative Freemasonry rests.

"Yat he no bondsman prentys make." folio 7.
"So yat ye prentes be of lawful blod,
Make no prentys yat ys outrage,
Yat he have hys lymes hol all ys fere." Art. 5.

the craft. No regulation was more rigorously insisted upon than that which prohibited the craftsmen from slandering or speaking evil of a brother behind his back, to cause him to lose a good name and his worldly goods; nor should a Fellow, within or without the lodge, give an ungodly or reproachful answer to one of the fraternity without just cause. Every Mason must reverence his elder and put him to worship.[1] Games of hazard or dice, or other unlawful plays, were forbidden, lest the science of Masonry should be unjustly slandered; and no Mason should be guilty of lecherous conduct, nor a frequenter of bawdy houses, whereby the craft might suffer for the delinquencies of a few. And in order that every contingency of evil habits and associations might be provided for, whenever a Fellow went into town at night to attend a lodge of Masons, a brother must accompany him, to attest as an eye-witness that he was in an honest place.[2] All Masons, whether Masters or Fellows, were obligated to be present at every assembly,[3] upon due notice, if convenient and within ten or fifty miles of the place where the same was convened. Any Master infringing upon Masonic rules must abide the award of his brethren, upon his conscience; but if he felt aggrieved at the arbitration of the Masters and Fellows, he was at liberty to prosecute his suit at common law. No Master or Fellow should make a mould or square or rule for a layer, nor was he permitted to set a layer within or without the lodge to hew or mould stones. Strange Fellows were to be received and cherished by each Mason whenever they came over the country. They were to be

[1] Dowland's MSS.; Hughan, *Old Masonic Charges*, p. 30; Harleian MSS., No. 2054. The Harleian manuscript distinctly says the master shall be addressed as "worshipful." "Yat ordeynt he maystr ycalled so schulde he be so y^{t} he were, most ȳ worshiped, yonne schilde he be so ȳcleped."

[2] Harleian MSS., No. 2054, Art. 12; Dowland MSS.; Hughan, *ut supra*.

[3] "Every maystr yat ȳs a mason
Most ben at ye general congregation."
Halliwell MSS., 17 A1, Art. 2.

given work if desired, or, as the usage was, in case the Master of the lodge had no mould stone at hand wherewith to provide the strange brother work, he should contribute to his refreshment with money to assist him to the next lodge. A Master Mason, under covenant to finish his work, whether it might be by journey or task work, was bound to complete such undertaking according to contract, in order that he might earn his pay and serve his lord well. The charges recited were binding upon each and every member of the Masonic fraternity, and were sworn to be observed to the utmost, under the sanction of God, the holy-dome,[1] and upon the Book.

[1] Evidently derived from a very old form of administering an oath, upon the shrine in which the sacred relics of some martyred saint were enclosed. The chest or box in which these bones were contained was usually constructed in imitation of a small house. Hence *holy*, with direct reference to the sanctity of relics, and *domus*, Lat. for house, by gradual elision into holidomus, later holy-dome.

CHAPTER XVII.

GERMAN LEGENDARY HISTORY OF THE FREEMASONS — TRACED BACK TO DIOCLETIAN'S TIME — TRADITIONS OF THE FOUR MARTYRED STONE-CUTTERS — REFUSE TO OBEY ROYAL ORDER TO ENGRAVE AN IDOLATROUS IMAGE — THEIR TERRIBLE DEATH — AUTHENTIC HISTORICAL RELICS OF THESE EMINENT MASONIC PATRON SAINTS — FRENCH FREEMASONS TRACE THEIR HISTORY TO SAINT BLASIUS — THIS SAINT SUFFERED MARTYRDOM UNDER DIOCLETIAN — VERY ANCIENT CRAFT DOCUMENTS MAKE NO REFERENCE TO THE SOLOMONIAN THEORY OF MASONIC ORIGIN — EARLIEST TRADITIONS ASSUME MERELY TO GIVE THE PROGRESS OF GEOMETRIC SCIENCE.

ENGLISH Freemasonry possesses a more complete legendary history of the craft than that of any other nation. The German Masons traced their origin to a much later period. In all authentic enactments, or articles of constitution, which contain the few meagre details of early Teutonic Masonry, no higher date is assigned for its inception than about the time of Diocletian. The ordinance of the year 1462, to which frequent allusion has been made, as furnishing information not procurable elsewhere, in the prefatory clauses, recites,[1] "that the Masters in Oberland and Regensburg, having associated for the purpose of drawing up in book-form the edicts and regulations appertaining to the craft, had now prepared the same in strict accordance with ancient traditions accepted by the fraternity." They assert that the several articles were transcribed from the text of old stand-

[1] Vide Proem, *sup. Ordnung der Steinmetzen v. Yahre* 1462: "Inn diesem Lande nach gewonheit als disz Buch clerlich ausweist," u. s. w.

ard customs, such as had been established by those venerable artificers Claudius, Christorius, and Significamus, crowned as sainted martyrs for the glory of Mary, the celestial queen, and the praise of the holy Trinity. Sometimes four martyrs are specified as Christian stonecutters, and denominated the Crowned, because, according to the legend, they refused to obey an order of the Roman emperor Diocletian — others say Tiberius — to build a heathen temple, and, in consequence of their disobedience, were thrown into the river Tiber, whereupon four radiant crowns appeared before the startled vision of their persecutors, and hovered above the drowning saints. These martyrs are frequently designated in the stonecutters' constitutions,[1] but in none, excepting that of 1462, is the number limited to three. There is a variety of traditions relating to this portion of German Masonic history.[2] In addition to the tradition referred to above, the four martyrs, whose names are given as Severus, Severianus, Carpophorus, and Victorinus, were Christians under Diocletian. He ordered them to sacrifice to heathen gods, and, on their refusal, caused them to be executed.[3] After the lapse of time, as the legend runs, — about two years subsequent to the martyrdom mentioned, — five craftsmen, deeply skilled in statuary, viz., Claudius, Castorius, Nicostratus, Simplicius, and Symphorianus, were instructed to prepare for him an image of his tutelary deity. They declined to obey the imperial mandate, and, by order of the emperor, these staunch sculptors were enclosed in separate lead coffins, and quietly sunk into the

[1] Als sie weigerten einen heidnischen Tempel zu bauen in die Tiber gestürzt wurden, worauf ueber ihnen in Himmel vier Kronen erschienen. Stieglitz, *Ueber die Kirche der h. Kunigunde zu Rochlitz*, p. 29; Ibid., *Geschichte der Baukunst*, p. 618.

[2] Kloss, *Die Freimaurerei in ihrer wahren Bedeutung*, p. 257 (Anlage 1), *et. seq.*, gives the fullest details and information touching the interesting history of these patron saints of German Masons.

[3] Stieglitz, *Geschichte der Baukunst*, p. 617.

sea. As a memorial of their illustrious death, the pope ultimately raised them to the dignity of saints. In Rome, on Coelius Hill, a small church is still preserved, dedicated to the *Quattro Santi Coronati.*[1] In the year 847, when Pope Leo IV. restored this chapel, the remains of the four sainted martyrs, Severus, Severianus, Carpophorus, and Victorinus, were buried there and received holy adoration, and were called the four crowned. The same pope also caused the bodies of the five other canonized saints to be placed there — Claudius, Nicostratus, Sinforiamus, Castorus, and Simplicius, who, as sculptors, suffered death rather than chisel out the image of a heathen divinity. Cardinal Mellino, vicar of Pope Urban VIII., beautified the church, and Paschal II. caused it to be repaired. The truth of the preceding narrative is attested by an old work cited by Stieglitz,[2] and it is a noticeable fact that this compilation of Roman antiquities specifically refers to the four crowned as soldiers, while the five martyrs are designated as sculptors. This need occasion no confusion, when it is considered that the ancient stonecutters practised the art of statuary.

A contributor to the *Archæologia*[3] relates that two workmen of porphyry were put to death by Diocletian, on account of their refusing to assist in rebuilding a heathen temple. In support of his assertion, he cites a Latin author, who gives it as a historical fact. It is not improbable that the subsequent traditions touching the ancient founders of German Masonry may have developed from these martyred artificers. The crowned saints appear

[1] Stieglitz, *Die Kirche der heiligen Kunigunde zu Rochlitz*, p. 30. Ibid., *Geschichte der Baukunst*, p. 618.

[2] *Baukunst*, p. 618, *Roma antica e moderna, etc.*, Roma, 1677, p. 398. See Stieglitz, *Ueber die Kirche zu Rochlitz, ut supra.* Seroux d'Agincourt, *Hist. de l'Art*, Pl. lxix, fig. 31, furnishes an illustration of a column standing in front of the church de Quattro Santi Coronati.

[3] Vol. XXX., p. 118.

to have obtained a high degree of popularity during the Middle Ages, not only among operative Masons, but also with religious bodies. As a suitable attestation of the favorable opinion conceived of them by the Romish church, reference may be made to the paintings of the celebrated Giovanni di San Giovanni, representing the terrible martyrdom of the sacred four, which was portrayed in an oratory adjoining the church of the Quattro Santi. These pictures are in fresco, of rare merit, delineated on the side of the altar-piece, and are representative of scenes from the martyrs' death. The saints are inserted between planks or stone slabs, ready to be cast into the river. Other frescoes descriptive of these martyrs' lives are visible in the same edifice — one of which shows a death by lapidation, and a subsequent enclosure between slabs. The last mentioned pictures, Stieglitz[1] believes to be of a more recent date, and are of less merit than the former. Another portraiture of the four crowned is to be seen in the cathedral at Pavia, back of the memorial to Saint Augustine. They are elaborately cut in *bas-relievo*, and individually designated by name — Claudius, Nicostratus, Symforiamus, and Simplicius. Each of them is possessed of the attributes of a stonemason's art, viz., a hammer (mallet), circle, chisel, and other working tools. Simplicius holds in his hand a partially unrolled parchment scroll, upon which the following words are hewn: Martuor. Coronatorum. This method of delineating these ancient patrons of German Masonry was not confined to Italy, nor to ecclesiastical patronage.

A painting, by an unknown and very old German artist, still extant in 1829,[2] in a collection of Dr. Campe at Nuremburg, contains the half-length figures of Claudius, Castorius, and Simblicius, whose heads are surrounded by the glorious

[1] Stieglitz, *Geschichte der Baukunst*, p. 619.

[2] Stieglitz, *Ueber die Kirche der heiligen Kunigunde zu Rochlitz*, p. 30.

halo of martyrdom; and beneath them the word "Gekrontn," or crowned. Whatever trifling deviation there is of names here mentioned from those which head the articles of 1462, has no doubt originated by careless copying. This painting, a copy of which prefaces the edition of the Torgau ordinances by Stieglitz, depicts Claudius as busily engaged in drawing out designs on a trestle-board, with gauge and square. Castorius stands behind him, apparently directing the plans as master of the work, while Simblicius, with a pick-hammer under his left arm, is awaiting to execute the diagram. Although the names of these saints, in some slight degree, are variously written, yet they appear to be so substantially identical as to admit of no other rational conjecture. When it is considered that the traditions growing out of the historical martyrdom mentioned, had been handed down through a long line of succeeding centuries, it will sufficiently explain the variations occurring in the nomenclature of the holy four or five crowned; and from the same cause would naturally arise changes in traditional versions of a legend originally uniform, whether the canonized saints might have attained terrestial adoration and a celestial crown, by reason of a refusal to assist in constructing temples in which the devout pagan was to celebrate the religious rites under whose observance his country had subjugated and conquered all; or because, as Christian converts, they had declined the offer of imperial patronage to prostitute the consecrated mallet and chisel to carving out of pallid marble the material type of decaying divinity. This view is, perhaps, more in harmony with the dictates of sound judgment, since, as already urged, the early and later mediæval stonecutters prepared the imagery which diversifies the grand cathedrals of Europe. Moreover, the ordinance of the year 1462 expressly states that three of the above saints were the originators of such ancient usages and laws as had descended to that epoch.[1] From the

[1] Proem, *Ordnung der Steinmetzen v. Yahre* 1462. In the introductory

accepted fact that the era of the martyrdom of these worthy artificers is assigned to so remote a time as the age of Diocletian, it may be inferred that the Byzantine artists transmitted this legend to Germany, and introduced it into that country as a part of corporate traditions. As previously stated, a reference is made to the four martyrs[1] in the legendary history of English Freemasonry, and occurs in but one ancient manuscript extant in England, viz., the Codex Halliwell, which is certainly the earliest record of the kind in the kingdom. From this it would seem that at some period, however remote, the Masonic traditions of these countries were identical.[2]

The Master Masons who assembled at Torgau, in the year 1462, in order to prepare a solemn protest against the violation of established landmarks, were guided in their deliberations by older documents than those drawn up at Strassburg in 1459, because the ordinance of 1462 directly asserts that the good customs and ancient usages, such as had obtained among the earlier Masons, had fallen into disuse, and it was there asserted to be the determination to restore such ancient customs for the general welfare of the fraternity; in order to accomplish this design, the several articles compiled at that time are solemnly pronounced to be copied from the text of an older supreme law.[3] It clearly appears from the phraseology in which this regulation is written, that many portions of the same had been hitherto transmitted orally, from time immemorial to the period of the convocation, and these parts especially furnish

clause of the Strassburg articles of 1459, the regulations are declared to be prepared in eternal remembrance of the four martyrs: "Der Heiligen vier gekrönten zu ewiges Gedechtnisse angesehen." Vide Krause, *Die Drei ältesten Kunsturkunden*, Bd. II., Ab. 1, p. 269.

[1] *Supra*, p. 124; Halliwell MSS., 17 A1.

[2] Findel, *Geschichte der Freimaurerei*, p. 85; Keller, *Kurzgefasste Geschichte der Freimaurerei*, p. 7.

[3] Auch alle diese artigkel sindt gemacht worden ausz dem Texte des alden Haubtenrechtes. Proem, *Ordnung der Steinmetzen*, 1462, Stieglitz's ed., p. 60.

a key for further investigation into internal usages as observed by the mediæval builders, not to be found in any Masonic document of that age. A careful examination of this ordinance, will verify the allegation that the Masters convened in Torgau purposely drew up the articles contained in it from such rules as had prevailed for lodge government during many preceding centuries, and moreover, transcribed with zealous accuracy those ancient prescriptions which, according to old tradition, were instituted by the holy martyrs, in order, apparently, to give their enactment a greater degree of authority, and render it more binding upon the craft. A close and dispassionate comparison of the Strassburg ordinance of 1459 with the one under consideration, will convince a candid inquirer that ancient and traditional usages are the foundations upon which both rest; each of them claiming, in the prefatory clauses, to have descended from the holy crowned saints.[1] Notwithstanding the evident identity of legendary origin, the regulations of Torgau evince a more rigid adherence to old landmarks, and manifest an undoubted conservatism. In the former, the relative duties of Masters, Pallirer (Wardens), and Fellows, are noted, and particular reference is made to apprentices; while the latter ordinance betrays an intentional disregard of apprentices, as the following direct assertion from the preface sufficiently attests: "We Masters, Pallirer, and Fellows, have copied out of the book several portions which are necessary to all operative masters in chief, and to the fellows;"[2] consequently, by the

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 59, 60; also, *Ordnung der Steinmetzen zu Strassburg*, 1459, in Krause, *Die Drei ältesten Kunsturkunden*, Bd. II., Ab. 1, p. 269.

[2] Auch haben wir vorgennante meister, pallirer und gesellen aus dem buche gezogen und genomen Etzliche Stücke, etc. The ordinance of 1462, from which the foregoing quotation is taken, designates the wardens as Pallirer, but the Strassburg regulations, published by Krause, *Die Drei ältesten Kunsturkunden*, Theil II., Ab. 1, p. 263, *et seq.*, call these officers, Parlirer. My edition, published by Stieglitz, 1829, is a sworn transcript of the Torgau Constitution *verbatim et literatim*, as copied directly from the manuscript, still extant in the

law of both convocations, whether express or implied, the older regulations affecting apprentices were still considered in force. It was also ordered that the craft should meet each year at a designated time, and that the laws as enacted, together with any amendments, should be either publicly proclaimed or remain open to the inspection of all during the session of this grand body.

In treating of Masonic legendary history, it is worthy of consideration that the French Masons of the Middle Ages, and earlier, claimed for their corporation a high antiquity. They declared Saint Blase, or Blaisé, to be their patron saint, but for what reason does not satisfactorily appear. Singularly enough, in point of time, the Teutonic and Gallic traditions perfectly coincide. Blaisé, according to the author of *Eccentricities of Literature*,[1] suffered martyrdom under the Emperor Diocletian, in the year 289, for what cause, independent of his Christian profession, is not stated. This martyred proselyte was invoked by such persons as were afflicted with infirmities of body or mind, and, if the legendary records may be accredited, with extraordinary success. People kindled fires upon high places in his honor, on the 2d of February, a day fixed in old almanacs as very cold. The Masonic fraternity of Paris, in the thirteenth century, donated all fines arising from an infraction of their rules to the chapel of Saint Blase.[2] So late as the year 1476, the corporation of Masons instituted a confraternity with the carpenters under the name of this saint, at a chapel in Rue Garland in Paris.[3] Boileau's regulations of the year 1254 afford no

Lodge of Rochlitz. My reasons for preferring the word as given above, are set forth in the Second Part of this work.

[1] Edition 1822, p. 348.

[2] Et se il le prenoit à mains de vj ans, il est à xx S de par d'amende, à paier à la chapèle Monseigneur Saint-Blesve. Boileau, *Reglemens sur les Metiers*, cap. xlviii.

[3] Depping, *Reglements sur les Metiers de Paris*, cap. 48, note (1).

clue by which the stonecutters of that or earlier ages were induced to select this martyr for their patron. It may be conjectured, however, that this class of artisans, being particularly exposed to corporeal injury, accepted the patronage of Saint Blaise for his presumed efficacy in the healing art. Another point of startling coincidence in remoteness of tradition between the English and French craftsmen of that period, is the occurrence of Charles Martel's name in the record of 1254. The Parisian Masons declared that all stonecutters were exempt from watch duty, an exemption which, they asserted, was conceded to them by Charles Martel, and that this privilege had descended to them by immemorial prescription from the time of that valiant soldier; — a concession acknowledged dependent upon no grant or written document, but, as they avowed, they had heard say "from father to son."[1] Consequently, the belief prevailed so early as the middle of the thirteenth century, that the fraternity of stonemasons was as ancient, at least, as the Carlovingian dynasty. I have already noted my reasons for the belief that this tradition relating to this monarch was carried into England by numerous bodies of French Masons who followed in the pathway of William the Norman, or subsequently arrived there.

It is a notable fact that the oldest and most authentic document, which is historical of the year 1254, as well as the most ancient records of German Masonry, about the middle of the fifteenth century, and confessedly drawn up from much older traditions, neither mention, nor in the remotest manner indicate, that the fraternity of Masons was put upon a substantial basis at the building of Solomon's Temple. Nor is the faintest allusion made to a period prior to the age of Diocletian, in the third century. It is impossible to presuppose the existence of such legends among the

[1] Si come li prudhommes l'en oï dire de père à fils. Boileau, *loc. cit.*

French and Teutonic mediæval Masons, without some portions at least, and in some shape, however intangible, finding their way into the written records of those craftsmen. The operative Mason of the Middle Ages in France and Germany knew nothing of a Jewish origin of his craft. In case the traditions current in the thirteenth century, or later, had pointed back to the time of Solomon, in preparing the regulations for corporate government, and in order to obtain valuable exemptions, the prestige of the Israelitish king would have by far transcended that of the holy martyrs, or Charles the Hammer-Bearer! On the contrary, the most striking elements, perhaps, of the internal polity and work of a lodge were directly derived from nearer sources, although equally venerable, than those whose streams ascended to the Jewish temple builders; nor were the initiatory rites and emblems the entire contribution of Judaism. In this connection it stands forth as highly significant, that Halliwell's *Codex* makes no mention of Masons during the time of Solomon, nor does that ancient document pretend to trace Masonic history prior to the time of Athelstane and Prince Edwin. Evidently, the compiler simply followed tradition touching the introduction of Masonry into England at the period stated, as may be gleaned from the versifier himself:

"This craft came into England, as it is heard said."[1]

No effort is apparently made to impress the reader with an idea that Masonic history is being unfolded back to the time of Egyptian kings; for the chronicler expressly asserts his intention merely to narrate the origin and progress of geometric science, which he says was the invention of Euclid:

[1] "Yys crafte come yn to England as y^e^ yode say." Halliwell MSS., 17 A1, folio 5.

"The clerk[1] Euclid in this wise it found,
This craft of Geometry in Egypt land;"

and further:

"In Egypt land he taught it full wide,
In divers lands on every side."[2]

The manuscripts subsequent, in point of time, to Halliwell's, have added largely to the simple and naive narrative of this ancient English chronicle. From such written records as are still accessible, it would seem that their several authors or compilers had no fixed purpose to trace the history of the fraternity, as a corporate body in England, beyond the time of the mythical York assembly under Prince Edwin; while the traditions existing among the craft concerning the origin, preservation, and perpetuation of an exact science are also detailed with zealous and laudable minuteness. In other words, the legends of Masonry previous to Athelstane are, collectively, a mere compilation of the traditional history of geometry, which was accepted without question by the mediæval operatives, and which, no doubt, in its essential properties, was brought into Europe at an early age, either by the Byzantine corporations or introduced among the ancient Britons through their Roman conquerors, who, it appears, numbered colleges of builders among the legions. Dallaway says[3] the first notice which occurs in England of a body of Roman artificers is a votive tablet, upon which a college of operatives allude to the dedication of a temple to Neptune and Minerva, and also to the safety of Claudius Cæsar's family. The learned antiquary, Roger Gale, decided this stone to

[1] From *cleric* or priest originally, but signifies here *learned* or *wise*, because during the Middle Ages nearly all learning was possessed by ecclesiastics. It is used in this sense in one of the songs in *Das kleine Helden Buch*.

[2] Ye clerke Euclyde on yys wyse hyt founde
Yys crafte of geometry yn Egypte land . . .
In Egypte he taughte hyt ful wyde,
In divers land on every syde. Halliwell, *Ibid.*, folio 5.

[3] *Historical Account of Master and Freemason*, p. 401.

be the earliest memorial of the Romans hitherto discovered in Great Britain. From this it may therefore be gleaned that in the time of Emperor Claudius Cæsar an associated body of architects was established in England, and apparently much of the knowledge which subsequently obtained in that kingdom, touching the early history of architectural art, was taught by these Roman corporations. There are, however, excellent reasons upon which to ground the belief that the great mass of information concerning the spread of geometric science was derived from Greek artists, and when the gradual merging of the Byzantine associations with Germanic guilds had been effected, the historic and traditional details of art were preserved as a part of the oral, or perhaps written, narrative explanatory of geometric history, rehearsed to the neophyte with the initiatory lessons incident to the degree. There is nothing in the external or internal constitutions of the fraternity that can lead to an assumption that the Roman *collegia* were the source whence Masonry, either directly or indirectly, obtained its lodge appointments or ritualistic ceremonies. No vestige admitting of such interpretation appears in either the written or unwritten records of the craft. In all the legends of Freemasonry, the line of ascent leads with unerring accuracy through Grecian corporations back to the Orient; and in all lodge constituent elements and appointments, the track is broad and direct to a Gothic origin. So far as the traditional history of the German and French patron saints determines the institution of the society, it is referred to Diocletian's time, with a strong probability that this legend was also the contribution of Eastern artists. Reference has been made to the route by which much of the internal or esoteric teachings of Freemasonry was transmitted to the mediæval Masonic guilds; for a detailed statement of the argument adduced, both to support this proposition and to substantiate the Teutonic or Norse nature of lodge work and government, the reader is directed to the Second Part of this treatise.

We here terminate the first portion of this History. If we cast our eyes backward over the several pathways travelled, we find, amid the varied circumstances of local and national life, much that points to an association held in check and regulated by secret rules, which vitalized the most distant and distinct branches. These points, which scattered bodies of mediæval Masons present in common, are not the result of accident or the work of chance. Everywhere we have seen, or shall hereafter see, a strange uniformity, spreading regularly and with an unalterable consistency, through the ancient Masonic corporations of Europe. This unity could not have preserved an uninterrupted existence, had it depended upon the transient requirements of any age or nation. Other guilds and associations, established for purposes of temporary and local interest, have long since passed away. Unnumbered corporations, nurtured into vitality by the troubled times of the Middle Ages, whose duration was the result of fleeting necessity, have vanished, while the mediæval guilds of Masons still survive in speculative Freemasonry. With a consistent harmony, the formularies of internal government, and a rigid adherence to prescriptive usage, such as guided ancient lodges in hewing out of polished stone the elegant designs of the master builder, are preserved with jealous vigilance by their successors. Speculative Masonry has perpetuated intact for centuries that which has come down from the very twilight of time. In passing through the various nationalities which have successively fallen to decay, this brotherhood has survived, and, through the long line of ages, continued to guard the relics of a remote antiquity.

It is the design of the subsequent pages to note with care such portions of Freemasonry as have descended unimpaired and unchanged from Gothic sources, and at what probable epoch Judaistic rites began to be introduced into lodge or guildic observances.

PART II.

ANTIQUITIES OF FREEMASONRY.

CHAPTER XVIII.

NAME OF FREEMASON, WHENCE DERIVED—NOT FROM UNUSUAL IMMUNITIES—MEDIÆVAL LATHOMII—EARLY USE OF WORD MASON—FREEMASON TRACED TO GALLIC SOURCES—SIGNIFIES BROTHER CRAFTSMEN.

A DIVERSITY of opinion exists touching the origin of the name *Freemason*. The majority of writers incline to the belief that this title of *Freemason* was bestowed upon the craft on account of unlimited exemptions,[1] which, it is alleged, were conceded the fraternity at the hands of royalty, or powerful protectors. It can, we think, be easily demonstrated that this view is not well grounded, and, moreover, that the craft of Masons in their corporate franchises were not the recipients of any supposed universal political freedom[2] which would entitle them to be designated as *free*, *par excellence*, as contrasted with the immunities of other guilds or societies of workmen. Nor does it appear that this corporation of operatives was possessed of unusual privileges in the internal management of their widespread lodges, because this freedom was not only shared, but frequently exceeded, by contemporaneous fraternities.

The earliest approach to the use of the word Freemason

[1] Hutchinson, *Spirit of Masonry*, p. 138, says they assumed this appellation in order to distinguish them from ordinary masons, a privilege incident to a grant to this corporation by the city of London, carrying with it extraordinary freedom.

[2] Dallaway, *Historical Account of Master and Freemason*, p. 425.

is in the statute of 24 Edward II., of the year 1350, which, similar to all English laws of that epoch, are published in the French language, and is styled *Le Statut d'Artificers et Servants.* In the third chapter of this enactment, regulating the price of wages, the following reference is made:

Item. — Carpenters,[1] masons, and tilers, and some others, shall receive no other pay than that fixed by the law of 1346, viz.:

A master carpenter	3 den.
Another (joiner)	2 "
Master of freestone	4 "
Other masons	3 "
Their servants	1 "
A tiler[2]	3 "
Their knaves	

The original text contains the words " mestre de franche

[1] During the Middle Ages a close union existed between the carpenters and masons. Marchese, *Vie dei Architetti*, Tomo I., p. 144. In a return made by the carpenters' guild of Norwich, established in 1376, mention is made of Robert of Elyngham and other Masons, who, in conjunction with this guild, agreed to share the expense of burning tapers before an altar in the church. And "besyden all these ordinaunces, Robert of Elyngham, Masoun, and others serteyn Masouns of Norwich, fynden in Criste's Churche at Norwiche twye torches brennyngge atte heye auter as it is by for seyd." Smith, *English Guilds*, p. 39; Anderson's *Constitutions*, p. 26.

[2] The modern signification of this word is a guard or sentinel, and applies to an officer who stands with a sword before the door of a Masonic lodge. To give an exact derivation of *Tiler* or *Tyler* is encompassed with much difficulty and uncertainty. Krause, *Kunsturkunden*, Bd. I., Ab. 1, p. 147, translates it as "Ziegeldecker," or a tile coverer, and in this sense it seems to be used above. Perhaps the most satisfactory explanation can be found in the corruption of "Tailleur de pierre," which, by an English tongue, would be pronounced "Tyler de peer," as attested by the phrase "franche peer." Whoever was designated to guard the Anglo-French lodges in England, could not be otherwise than a "Tailleur de pierre," and which, to strange ears, would be sounded *Tyler* or *Tiler*. See Boileau, *Reglemens sur les Metiers de Paris*, cap. 48, where the expression alluded to frequently occurs. Tile coverers had their own guilds during the Middle Ages. Toulman Smith, *English Guilds*, p. 399.

peer," "et outre Mason," "et leurs servants." The literal signification of mestre de franche peer, is master of freestone, that is, one who works in such stone, or is evidently used here to distinguish a mason adept in preparing freestone from an ordinary rough-stone mason.

Caementarius appears to have been the earliest form synonymous with mason, and is used as early as the seventh century at least.[1] It was used in the years 1077[2] and 1078[3] to designate builders of the class under consideration. At a later period, 1212, *caementarii* and *sculptores lapidum liberorum*, — cutters of freestones, — are written as identical in sense. In the year 1217, caementarius signifies an equivalent for *massun*.[4] Numerous indentures of the Middle Ages between builders and employers, make use of the words *caementarius* and *lathomii* to specify masons.

About the close of the fourteenth century, 1396, the following phraseology occurs: Lathomos vocatos fremaceons,[5] which, fairly interpreted, means freemasons. Lathomos, in this connection, corresponds to a hewer of stone, and is identical in signification with German Steinmetz and the French Tailleur de pierre, or stonecutters.

The earliest authentic and direct application of the word "mason,"[6] to particularize a body of artificers, of which I am aware, is to be found in almost obliterated characters

[1] Cæmentarios, qui lapidem sibi ecclesiam juxta Romanorum, . . . postulavit, etc. Bedae, *Ecclesiastica Historia Gentis Anglorum*, Lib. V., cap. 22. For further authority, see Poole, *Eccles. Archit. of England*, p. 99. The earliest mention of the word *ashlar*, which I have seen, is as follows, from an indenture dated 1389, and quoted by Poole, *Ibid.*, p. 384: Erunt de puro *achiler* et plana inciso, tam exterius quam interius.

[2] Findel, *Geschichte der Freimaurerei*, p. 57, Anm. (1).

[3] "The church of St. Lucien at Beauvais, rebuilt in 1078, by two workmen, who, in an ancient obituary, are described as 'caementarii,' or masons." Hawkins, *History of the Origin of Gothic Architecture*, p. 107.

[4] Findel, *ut supra*.

[5] *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*

[6] Krause, *Die Drei ältesten Kunsturkunden*, Bd. II., Abt. 2, p. 398, *et seq.*, has amassed an undigested amount of information touching this word. See Du Cange, *Glos. Med. et Inf. Lat.*, sub vocibus, *Macio Machio*, Maçon (Gallic).

on the walls of Melrose abbey, and cannot be later than the twelfth century; and the next and undoubted use of it occurs in Boileau's *Reglemens sur les Metiers*, prepared in the year 1254, where these artisans are denominated "maçons," and meant to signify precisely the same operative as "Tailleur de pierre." The deduction from the foregoing then, perhaps, would be that towards the termination of the fourteenth century, this class of builders, in England, was called Freemasons.

The ordinance of 1254, which, as before stated, makes no especial reference to any but a mason and cutters of stone, so that, in the middle of the thirteenth century, the French craftsmen, as then organized, were simply "maçons," "tailleurs de pierre," who correspond to the mediæval English lathomii, masons, and the German steinmetzen, all of which possess one signification, — hewers of stone, of a higher skill than an uninitiated operative. The Norman-French word *fremaceons*, warrants the assumption that English stonecutters were the first to be denominated Freemasons; and, according to Boileau's *Ordinnances*, as hitherto cited, it would seem that, in his day, the craft was not known by any other name than tailleurs de pierre, maçons, precisely as the German masons continued their avocation as steinmetzen, until the society in Germany finally ceased as an operative body.

The name Freemason, thus bestowed upon early British stonecutters, was evidently given on account of the universal custom of the fraternity, without exception in England, and to some extent elsewhere on the Continent and in France, at this epoch, to call each other brother, or, in Old French, *frere maçon*, from which this nomenclature is derived.

The Norman conquest introduced the French language into England, to the temporary seclusion of the native idiom, so that, when the English Masons were incorporated, the Normans had indelibly impressed their dialect

upon the kingdom, and used it to write the laws and royal charters.[1] From this circumstance, apparently, the name of *Frère Maçon*, elided by corrupt pronunciation, has been merged and made to reappear in the modern word Freemason.[2]

That it was a custom among English Masons, at an early date, to address each other as "brother," admits of no doubt. Such usage is carefully enjoined by the manuscript charges in the following quaint and naive form: "That ye one another call brother or fellow, and by no other foul name."[3] Whether this custom prevailed outside of lodge precincts is uncertain; but it seems to have obtained among the mediæval Freemasons, in their mutual Masonic intercourse, wheresoever dispersed. It was unquestionably adhered to, rigidly, by the operatives, when craft-work, within the lodge, was being performed, because the moment a visiting brother entered the portal of the sacred conclave, he saluted the members and assembled brethren with endearing words of fellowship and fraternal regard.[4]

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[1] Blackstone, *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, Vol. III., p. 318, gives a succinct and comprehensive narrative of the universal application of Norman-French in the preparation of legal and other documents. In the reign of Edward III., an act of Parliament was passed requiring the records to be made up in Latin, but extending the use of the English tongue to court practice. See *infra*, chap. xxxvii.

[2] It might, indeed, be made the subject of curious speculation as to how far Freemasonry, in connection with the word *frere*, depended upon the old Saxon "Frith-borh," peace or frank pledge, for its name. Frith-borh was the enrolment of all inhabitants of a commercial guild for maintenance of peace. See Introduction to Smith's *English Guilds*, p. xxi. Frith-maçon, or massun, might, with much propriety, be developed into Free-mason.

[3] Also, you shall call all Masons yo^r ffellows or yo^r brethren and noe other names. Lansdowne MSS., Plut. lxxv, E.; also, Hughan, *Old Masonic Charges*, p. 34.

[4] Gott grüsse euch, Gott wevse euch, Gott lone euch, euch uebermeister. Pallirer und euch hübschen gesellen. Torgau, *Ordnung der Steinmetzen v. Yahre* 1462, § 107; Stieglitz, *Ueber die Kirche der h. Kunigunde zu Rochlitz*, p. 73; Winzer, *Die Deutschen Bruderschaften des Mittelalters*, p. 71.

This practice has descended to the present time, among other ancient observances transmitted to speculative Masonry. The constant use, by the Masons of the Middle Ages, in England, and perhaps elsewhere, so late as the closing years of the fourteenth century, of the word brother, or *frère* in French, in addressing their fellows, ultimately caused them to be designated as "brother or *frères* Masons," in order to distinguish them from ordinary laborers, who were apparently less privileged, and not bound together by such strong fraternal ties. When it is considered that, from the eleventh until the end of the fourteenth century, the majority of masons or architects in England were French, who constantly spoke their own language,— which, as previously stated, was the legal idiom of the realm, — and were closely united in a secret organization, whose leading characteristic was its intimate brotherhood, with a standing ordinance to hail each other as "brother" or "fellow," it will, we think, furnish the most reasonable explanation of the origin of Freemason. To assume that this name originated from the unquestioned fact that, to a great degree, the mediæval Masons worked in freestone, presents a chasm which no elision can fill. For instance, in the statute[1] quoted, a master is described as mestre de franche peer. This is the only direct connection in which these words are used, and signify, not a freestone mason, as sometimes asserted,[2] but a master of freestone; and no ingenuity can torture this expression into such shape as to mean Freemason.

In the word *fremaccons*, used in the year 1396, there is a sufficient indication that the two French words, *frère* and *maçon*, have been merged, and thus elided are, fairly interpreted, not a freestone mason, but an artificer, regularly initiated into a fraternity recognized by law — in a word, a brother Mason.[3]

[1] 24 Edward III., A. D. 1350, entitled *Le Statut d' Artificers et Servants.*

[2] Among others Steinbrenner, *Origin of Masonry*, p. 111.

[3] Vide *infra*, chap. XXXVII.

CHAPTER XIX.

INITIATORY OATHS AND LODGE MEETINGS — OBLIGATION OF SECRECY — CEREMONIES IN FORMAL OPENING—DEDICATION OF LODGES—PATRON SAINTS — PLACES OF CONVENING THE CRAFT — CRYPTS — HILLS AND VALLEYS — SKILLED WORKMEN AT MASTER'S COMMAND — CALLED A "NOMADIC RACE" — MONASTIC MASONS — OBLATI — MASONIC DRESS IN MIDDLE AGES.

AN oath of secrecy was administered to all initiates,[1] and their secret conclaves were held at certain times and places. After the candidate had been properly instructed in the elements of the craft, the old manuscripts inform us, then one of the Seniors or Wardens held the book, or holy-dome, and the initiate, placing his hand upon[2] it, took upon himself a

[1] Paly, *Manual of Gothic Architecture*, p. 211; Dallaway, *Historical Account of Master and Freemason*, p. 407. "And only initiated into them those intended to be aggregated into their body, and under oaths of the most profound secrecy." Hope, *Essay on Architecture*, Vol. I., p. 243.

[2] Lansdowne MSS., *ubi supra*; Hughan, *Old Masonic Charges*, p. 34.

> A good trewe oye (oath) he most yen sware
> To hys Mayster and hys felows yt been yere
> To keep these poyntes, etc. Halliwell, 17 A1, Const., Art. 14.

Other guilds were oath-bound besides the Masons, but the penalties for a disclosure of corporation secrets were limited to pecuniary fines or wax amercements. Smith, *English Guilds*, pp. 92, 93, 65–76, etc. In the concluding part of an oath administered to an initiate into St. Katherine guild, in the fifteenth century, the obligated brother is directed "then kys the Boke." *Ibid.*, p. 189. A close identity existed between the mediæval Freemasons and the secular guilds prior to 1389. For instance, it is ordered that no one shall "bewreie ye conseil of yys gilde to any straunge man." *Ibid.*, p. 95. This will

solemn obligation to conceal all that he had previously been instructed in, and that he would endeavor to preserve the charges of a Mason which were recited to him.

How exclusively the details of art were in keeping of these Freemasons, and how carefully these vows were kept, may be learned from the grossly inaccurate copies of architecture which have been preserved in the illuminated manuscripts of the Middle Ages, particularly during the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[1] Lodges — in the German language Bau-hütte—originally signified a place of meeting, and perhaps lodging,[2] for Masters and Fellows; but this signification soon enlarged, and under the name of lodge came to be understood an association of artists and workmen who were united for the purpose of erecting churches, cathedrals, and other edifices.[3]

These lodges, originally, were convened at sunrise, and the Master having invested himself with the insignia of office, took his station in the east,[4] while the brethren grouped before him in the form of a semi-circle[5] or oblong square. Prayer was an essential point in the opening of a

serve as a specimen how rigidly other associated bodies insisted on an unqualified secrecy of chapter mysteries. In Halliwell's *Constitutions*, Art. 3, it is enjoined:

> Ye prentis to keep his master's counsell close,
> And not even tell hyt in ye Logge.

The Lansdowne and York MSS. order, in precisely similar terms as contained in the returns of 1389: "That ye shall well and truly keep the council of the lodge." Vide Hughan, *Masonic Charges*, pp. 34–39. Der Aufgenommene muszte eidlich geloben die Pflichten eines Gildebruders und die Ordnungen der Gesellschaft wie sie in den Statuten verzeichnet waren treulich zu erfüllen. Wilda, *Das Gilden Wesen im Mittelalter*, p. 118. This obligation was to be sworn under the light of a taper, *super candelam*, *Stat. Conv. St. Eric*, § 44, cited by Wilda, *ut supra*. Vide *infra*, p. 317.

[1] Whoever has had occasion to examine the drawings of that period, still preserved on parchment in the libraries of Europe, will readily recognize the justice of this statement.

[2] Vide *supra*, p. 91.

[3] Scherr, *Deutsche Cultur*, p. 161.

[4] Fallou, *Mysterien der Freimaurer*, p. 58.

[5] Jeder, *Die Allotrien*, p. 139.

lodge, and harmony, while assembled, was especially insisted on among the members.[1] This custom of invocation was by no means confined to the Masonic fraternity, although Freemasonry, being under the general supervision of the church at its inception, imbibed a strong religious spirit.

In obedience to the prevailing usage of the Middle Ages to place all organizations under the patronage of saints, Masonry also dedicated its lodges to a variety of martyrs. German Masons dedicated their fraternity to the holy crowned saints, as before adverted to,[2] and the Masonic brotherhood in Paris declared themselves under the patronage of Saint Blase.[3]

At a very early age, Saint John was invoked as the patron of British Masons.[4] In Italy, the fraternity of painters held the patronage and protection of the invisible Saint Luke in the highest esteem.[5] This corporation of artists incorporated in their laws that no work should be commenced without first appealing to God for his aid,[6]—a

[1] Fallou, *Ibid.*, p. 58.

[2] Vide *supra*, p. 173; also, Proem, *Ordinances of* 1462, 1459.

[3] Monseigneur Saint Blesve or Blase. Boileau, *Reglemens sur Metiers de Paris*, cap. 48; Depping, note (1), *op. cit.*, says the patronage of this saint was still recognized by the Masons in 1476. No custom appears to have been better established than that of placing guilds under the protection of patron saints. Toulman Smith, *English Guilds*, p. 168, note (*), says in this connection: "Among the records of at least six hundred early English guilds that have come under my careful review, I have very rarely found this absence save in some of the guild merchants."

[4] On the ruined walls of Melrose abbey is the following prayer, carved by the master of the masons who constructed the edifice:

"I: pray: to: God: and: Mary: baith
And: sweet: St.: John: keep: this: holy: kirk: fra: skaith:"

[5] Der unsichtbare Beschützer der Malerei ist der heilige Lukas. Von Raumer, *Geschichte der Hohenstaufen*, Bd. VII., p. 503.

[6] Aller Anfang ist zu machen mitt Gott und göttlichen Dingen da ohne Macht, Wissen und Liebe, nichts vollbracht werden kann. Von Raumer, *loc. cit.* Many guilds had chaplains, who conducted religious services and

practice which, as we have previously noted, was in vogue among the operative Masons of past ages, and is still adhered to in modern Freemasonry. So firmly did the foregoing association of artists adhere to this regulation, that the distinguished painter architect, Fra Angelica, never began any great or important work of art without first invoking the assistance and inspiration of Deity.[1]

After prayer at the opening of a mediæval lodge was finished, each workman had his daily labor assigned him, and received the necessary instruction to complete the work in detail. The craft again assembled at close of day, or at sunset, and the same formal arrangement of the operatives, with prayer, was repeated. The craft then received their wages.[2] Places where lodges were opened seem to have varied with circumstances, and apparently there were two classes of lodges, one of which was the ordinary Bau-hütte of the German stonecutter, where the usual lodge work and daily labor were performed under the scrutinizing eye of the Master or his Pallirer;[3] and the other where initiatory rites were practised upon candidates.

The meetings of the first mentioned lodges were generally held at any convenient place where the building hut of the craftsmen was erected, and to this enclosure the brethren were called both for labor and refreshment. Without going into details touching the exterior and internal appointments of a mediæval lodge, it will suffice in this connection to say that the Bau-hütte were regularly furnished with all the appliances of a mechanical trade such, for instance, as benches, working-tools, etc., and the

prayer. In the return made by a guild in 1389, the following appears: divinique cultus augmentum ac dicte ecclesie cathedralis et sustentatio duorum capellanorum, etc. Smith, *ut supra*, 29; also, *Ibid.*, p. 139.

[1] Non arebbe messo mano ai pennelli se prima non avesse fatto orazion Marchese, *Vie dei Architetti et Pittori*, Tomo I., p. 306.

[2] Jeder, *Die Allotrien*, p. 139.

[3] Winzer, *Die Deutschen Bruderschaften des Mittelalters*, p. 65; Fallou, *Mysterien der Freimaurer*, *passim*.

windows of the lodge were provided with shutters, which it was the operatives' duty to see properly closed and securely fastened.[1] Here it was that labor was performed and technical work done during the day, and even the builders' huts do not seem to have been always so completely guarded as to prevent surprise.[2]

The question now arises, where were the rites and ceremonies of initiation celebrated? To this the answer can be made with tolerable historical certainty. An investiture with Masonic secrets was, perhaps, originally conferred in one of the abbey rooms, near which the cathedral or other sacred edifice was being erected, until the superstructure had so far advanced as to cover the church crypt, and afforded a safe asylum for the craft to congregate in, for the purpose of working the rites appurtenant to the several Masonic degrees.

It has long been traditional among the ecclesiastics of York minster, that the Freemasons during the Middle Ages convened the craft for secret meetings in the crypt of that grand old edifice. To this day the astute vergers reiterate the legend of centuries, and designate Masons' marks on tiles leading to subterranean chambers. Recent and indefatigable research has brought to light an ancient lodge minute book,[3] dating far back in the past century. A record is made up in this manuscript, noting the last

[1] Were die fenster bey seiner Bank nicht zuthut, der soll geben iii., Kr. allemal zu pusse. *Ordnung der Steinmetzen vom Y.* 1462, § 69; Stieglitz, *Ueber die Kirche zu Rochlitz*, p. 69.

[2] A painting in the Louvre, representing St. Barbara as patron saint of a cathedral in process of construction, painted by Jean Van Eyck about the year 1437, contains a builder's lodge roofed over, with unenclosed sides; within, the masons are actively engaged with hammer, compass and square, preparing material to be worked up in the edifice to which the lodge is attached. Around the building the craft are systematically at work. Görling, *Geschichte der Mahlerei*, Bd. I., p. 248, etc., gives a wood-cut illustration of the above.

[3] For a view of this unique record, I am indebted to William Cowling, Esq., through whose labors the same was unearthed.

convocation called by a York lodge, and described as a sacred recess opened in the cathedral crypt. Among other treasures still preserved with jealous vigilance by the lodge in York, is a venerable painting of this spacious hall, formerly used by the fraternity, which is represented as decorated with Masonic symbols. These sombre vaults, too gloomy for ordinary mechanical lodge work, were peculiarly adapted for the display of lights, and to render initiatory rites solemn and impressive. It was indeed a sacred place, with the vast enclosure of confined space, and massive supporting columns encompassing the mystic gloom of side aisles and heavy arches above![1]

An eminence, or high hill, of itself afforded no sufficient security for secret ceremonies against the approach of the uninitiated, nor were the lowest valleys, for the same reason, satisfactory places to confer degrees. The notion that ancient Freemasons usually held their lodges on the highest hills and in deep valleys, is no doubt traditionally correct, because, among the Northern nations, hills and valleys were invested with especial religious veneration, and for this reason churches were erected on lofty eminences by early Christian evangelists as a substitute for those dedicated there to the worship of heathen divinities. Wherever churches were being constructed, lodges naturally met and performed their regular work, and from this fact the tradition touching such gatherings on elevated places has descended to modern Masonry. To this propensity of the Gothic nations to erect temples upon high places, a further reference will be made.

These Masonic societies which held their existence — and in no other way could they have preserved it — by the process of erecting vast edifices, lasting through centuries,

[1] Fosbroke, *British Monachism*, p. 205, says these crypts were frequently used "for clandestine drinking and things of that kind." For which candid admission, the clerical antiquary has been most unmercifully berated by Poole, *Ecclesiastical Architecture*, p. 150.

constituted, like the mediæval universities of learning, small states within regularly organized governments. Their meetings, as before remarked, were secret, and were held in lodges where the busy craftsman plied his technical avocation, and practised the mystic ceremonies of a symbolical ritualism.

When any large building was in contemplation, the masons removed in large numbers to the spot,[1] and hence they have been described as a "nomadic race."[2] Every master had at his command the services of workmen well acquainted with and accustomed to the working of his plans.

These operatives, denominated *confreres* (freres-maçons), or associated brother masons, no doubt accompanied their master from place to place, as occasion demanded, and certainly they must have devoted their lives to such work: for the exquisite chisellings and floriated capitals, with which many of the chapels of Europe abound, were never produced without intense and zealous application, aided by great taste, artistic feeling, and long practice.[3] That such workmen did anciently exist in great numbers, is sufficiently proven by the works of art which they have left behind them as monuments of their skill. It is probable that the masters wrought out the designs in conjunction with powerful and munificent ecclesiastics, and, as previously shown, the churchmen of those ages materially aided in successfully prosecuting the plans.

[1] Paly, *Manual of Gothic Architecture*, p. 211.

[2] Blunt, *History of the Reformation*, p. 83, in adverting to the universality of the Latin language during the Middle Ages, and particularly as a medium of intercourse between distinct nationalities, says: "And Freemasons, a kind of nomadic race, pitched their tents wherever they found occupation, and having reared the cathedral or church with admirable art, journeyed on in search of other employers."

[3] Poole's idea of the "rule of thumb," without intelligent skill among the mediæval masons, must provoke a smile at the expense of the clerical historian of architectural art. *Ecclesiastical Architecture in England*, p. 118.

When the society of Freemasons passed from monastic control, great numbers of the monks continued their membership with the lodges, and many of them, as Gundelandus, abbot of Lauresheim, wielded the compass and gavel with almost as much utility as the cross,[1] and, unquestionably, a good deal of actual handiwork was done by the monastic brethren themselves.[2] This will, in a measure, satisfactorily explain many of those touches of satire, in the way of droll and ludicrous portraiture, visible in European churches, and seem to be directly pointed against rival clerical sects.[3] While in the employ of these religious bodies, the masons frequently made journeys from one monastery to another, and these detachments were usually under the guidance of a monk architect. Like other guilds, they travelled well armed. In the centre of the convoy was a pack-horse or mule, which carried the tools and implements of the workmen, together with their provisions.

The particular class of laborers who seem to have assisted the masons at their work, were called *oblati*,[4] or those consecrated to religious service among the Benedictines, after having undergone the usual preliminary proofs. The duty assigned these youths was, principally, to bring water, carry mortar, stone, and sand, and to attend invalid workmen in the conventual infirmary.[5]

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[1] Architectes et sculpteurs, qui semblables au moine Gundelandus, abbé de Lauresheim, tenaient le compas et le maillet avec non moins d'autorité que la crosse. Lacroix, *Les Arts au Moyen Age*, p. 358.

[2] Paly, *Manual of Gothic Architecture*, p. 212. Dallaway, *Historical Account of Master and Freemason*, p. 418, thinks many of the details of architectural plans were the suggestion of ecclesiastics.

[3] Poole, *Ecclesiastical Architecture*, p. 276.

[4] Du Cange, *V. Oblati*, for ample discussion and information. Also, Fosbroke, *British Monachism*, p. 191.

[5] Heidelhoff, *Die Bauhütte der Mittelalter*. For proofs of a close intimacy between the Benedictines and Freemasons, see Fallou, *Mysterien der Freimaurer*, p. 243, etc.

A Masonic dress for the mediæval operative was carefully prescribed, and consisted of a short tunic, which, in winter, was made of woollen stuffs, and in summer of linen. This garment was fastened around the waist by a girdle, from which sometimes hung a small satchel, and when travelling, perhaps a sword. This tunic seems to have preserved an existence from the eleventh century down at least to the time of Van Eyck, in the year 1437. Craftsmen at large covered their heads with a tight-fitting scull-cap without a visor; close-cut breeches completed the Masonic attire.

In the painting of the year noted, by Jean Van Eyck, preserved in the Louvre, delineating the erection of a Gothic tower by the Masons, and from which the descriptions above were taken mainly, these peculiarities of dress prominently appear.[1] Two of the operatives, who are

[1] Vide Görling, *Geschichte der Mahlerei*, Bd. I., p. 248, etc. Uniformity of dress was by no means restricted to Freemasons. Nearly every class of civil society was distinguished by peculiarities of attire. All guilds prescribed certain suits or livery to be worn by members when present at the meetings. The Saddlers' and Spurriers' Guild of Norwich, established in 1385, ordered that "all ye brethern and systern hav a lyvere of sute to kennen ye bretheren an systeryn and for no oyer enchesoun." Toulman Smith, *English Guilds*, p. 43. A curious regulation of St. Edmund's Guild, Bishops Lynn, enacts: "Noman ne come in time of drinke beforn ye alderman and ye gild brethern in tabbard, in cloke, ne barlege, ne barfoote," under a penalty of 7*d.* Smith, *Ibid.*, p. 95. This ordinance was strenuously insisted on by all guilds or sworn brotherhoods, in order to distinguish the members. In the year 1326, an edict was issued by an ecclesiastical council against these conjurationes or societies united by oaths, and, among other charges, it was alleged that the members of these organizations were uniformly attired: et interdum se omnes vesti consimile inducentes. *Concil. Vaurensi.*, Tome XX., p. 857. Also, Wilda, *Das Gilden Wesen im Mittelalter*, pp. 52–224. Mediæval minstrels were also distinguished by a peculiar costume. Strutt, *Sports and Pastimes*, pp. 189, 190. Percy, *Reliques of Ancient Poetry*, note v. 3. It will be seen from the foregoing references that guilds and professions assumed a certain style or characteristic of dress, and, in this respect, were closely followed by the Freemasons, who adopted one best suited to the necessities of their vocation, a portion of which — the apron — is still worn.

evidently directing the labors of the craft, stand forth as noticeable exceptions in style of costume. Each of the figures is clothed with a long gown, reaching to the knees, tightly bound about the middle, with a heavy turban on his head. These are either a Master or Pallirer (Warden), in charge of the work. No unchangeable usage touching the cap or hat for the fraternity, it is believed, prevailed exclusively.

An engraving, copied from an ancient painting, prefaces Stieglitz's[1] edition of the Torgau ordinance, in which the three crowned martyrs are illustrated as clothed in tunics opening in front. Two of the saints have covering for the head: one is a close fitting, unvisored cap, loosely tied with straps in front, which are evidently designed to adjust it to a proper size. I believe this to have been, so to speak, the regulation cap. The other figure has merely a hat, with a long sloping visor in front, and the back portion turned up from the base of the eye.

[1] *Ueber die Kirche der heiligen Kunigunde zu Rochlitz.*

CHAPTER XX.

BUILDING CORPORATIONS EAGERLY JOINED — POWERS OF INTERNAL GOVERNMENT — THE MEMBERS ARE ARMED — GUILDS ASSIMILATE TO CHURCH DISCIPLINE — RIGHT OF CORPORATE BURIAL — QUALIFICATIONS OF MEMBERSHIP — CANDIDATE MUST BE POSSESSED OF INTELLIGENCE AND PROPERTY — DEGREES AMONG FREEMASONS — THE APPRENTICES — CRAFTSMAN OR COMPANION — DURATION OF AN APPRENTICESHIP — INITIATE MUST SWEAR TO PRESERVE LANDMARKS.

FROM the valuable privileges accorded to mediæval guilds, it is reasonable to infer that admission to the Masonic corporation was not unattended with conditions more or less difficult for candidates. At an early age in German history, these brotherhoods or craft guilds had widely extended, and each society, having its existence recognized by municipal authority, was possessed substantially of identical powers of internal government.

All laws, rules, and regulations affecting these organic bodies, whether commercial or mechanical, were very early digested, and constituted a large portion of the private laws of the empire.[1] To such extent did these corpora-

[1] Usually designated as "Zunftordnungen," or "Innungsgesetzen," and compiled, probably, near the commencement of the thirteenth century. See Fr. Schulte, *Lehrbuch der Deutschen Reichs-und-Rechtsgeschichte*, p. 127. Whether the laws regulating English guilds were regularly enrolled upon the statute-book, or simply developed from immemorial usage, is uncertain. Wilda, *Das Gild. Wesen im Mittelalter*, p. 376, cites the statute of a guild enacted about the year 1283. For what purpose the order of Parliament in 1389 was issued to

tions increase about the thirteenth century, that they were sufficiently powerful to defy imperial authority.[1] Not unfrequently it happened that these societies, by the terms of their charters, were allowed to arm the members for defence, and went out to battle with their masters in command.[2]

In their general scope and design, these guilds almost universally had the outline of a church brotherhood — the duty of caring for their sick and infirm being strongly impressed upon each member of the fraternity. Society funds were used to bury deceased brethren, and on such occasions the funeral procession was terminated by a banquet.[3]

While on this point, it may not be uninteresting to mention the fact that, in Germany, guilds were established whose express and only purpose was the humane treatment of those afflicted with leprosy — a disease alleged to have been introduced into Europe from the East by Crusaders.[4] That membership in organizations, privileged to regulate their affairs independent of royal or ecclesiastical interposition, was highly prized, may be readily inferred, and that such admission was eagerly sought will admit of little doubt, when it is stated that whenever a brother, in certain instances, was summoned before the civil judiciary, all the members of his guild accompanied him, and none but those connected with the

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the guilds in England for a certified return of their condition, does not appear; but the earliest governmental legislation touching guilds, including the Masons, is the ordinance of the year 1254, under Louis XI. of France.

[1] By act of Parliament, in the thirty-seventh year of Henry VIII.'s reign, the entire estate of craft guilds was confiscated. Brentano, *Essay on the Origin and Development of Guilds*, clxiii.

[2] Ungewitter, *Geschichte des Handels und der Industrie*, p. 234.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 233. With rare exceptions, the guildic returns collected by Smith, in his *English Guilds*, show the obligatory relation of the living towards the burial of deceased brothers, and that under a penalty. Starb er, geleiteten ihn alle zu Grabe, brachte Opfer, etc. Wilda, *Gilden Wesen*, p. 123.

[4] Scherr, *Deutsche Cultur*, p. 212.

brotherhood were fully competent witnesses. In such cases, the oath of the accused was valued as three to one of a stranger.[1]

What qualifications were necessary for initiation or membership, cannot be definitely mentioned. In many guilds of the Middle Ages, an initiation fee was required,[2] and in others the applicant must exhibit satisfactory evidence of his knowledge and capacity to acquire the craft. From a digest of laws, which Boileau compiled in the year 1254, it would seem that a property qualification for membership in these close corporations was requisite.[3]

So far as relates to the Masonic brotherhood, the old regulations which have descended to us sufficiently attest that the requirements still in vogue were substantially the same among the mediæval Masons. To be received as an apprentice, it was absolutely essential that the applicant should be free-born, and of a prescribed age. What was the minimum of years is uncertain. It is, at all events, very clear that the proposed apprentice need not be one and twenty; but, on the contrary, at any reasonable time during his minority he was eligible to the degree of an Entered Apprentice.[4] That this was a degree by itself, and the first towards advancement, can, I think, admit of but

[1] Dahlmann, *Geschichte von Dännemark.* Bd. III., p. 13.

[2] In English fraternities, the price of admission varied. St. Katherine's Guild ordained, "Quat brothyr or systyr schal comyn into this fraternite he shal payen to the sustentacion of this gulde v^{s}." Toulman Smith, *English Guilds*, p. 67. Others usually demanded wax payments. The early Teutonic or Scandinavian associations exacted an entrance fee. Wilda, *ut supra*, pp. 108–216. Oftentimes the initiate was obliged to pay money and a certain quantity of wax: "4 Mark und 1 Pfund Wachs." *Ibid.*, p. 274; also, Lacroix, *Les Moeurs et Usages au Moyen Age*, p. 316; Kloss, *Die Freimaurerei in ihrer wahren Bedeutung*, p. 220; and, Fr. Von Raumer, *Geschichte der Hohenstaufen*, Bd. V., p. 311.

[3] Pour qu'il sache fére le mestier et il ait de coi. Boileau, *Reglemens sur Metiers.*

[4] Wilda, *Das Gilden Wesen*, p. 274, says, in some of these corporations the candidates were accepted if fifteen years old.

little controversy, and, as such, existed in the contemplation of early Masons. The Germans designated this class of workmen as "Diener," or servants; the French stonecutters called them "Apprentis" (learners), or, as the English craftsmen learned it from their Gallic brethren, "Apprentices." We have already referred to the three distinct classes of operatives into which Saint Eloi, at that distant epoch, divided the jewellers, and equally defined grades or degrees existed during the Middle Ages among the fraternity of masons and carpenters. The young workman ceased to be an apprentice on attaining the degree of Fellow; and this advancement carried with it higher powers, additional preferment, and greater privileges, as we shall presently discover, than the preceding degree, and, in like manner, the Fellow-craftsman terminated that connection upon becoming a Master. How far apprentices were initiated into the mysteries of the order at that time is, at the present day, involved in obscurity; that they received sufficient information to gain admittance into lodges of Apprentices is beyond question, and that such lodges were opened, to which these operatives were called, is equally true. All instruction essential to the apprentice in order to become a Fellow was imparted him, together with such grips and passwords as prevented imposition from the uninitiated. He must also have received a thorough drilling in the elements of geometric science, and an explanation of the symbolic appliances necessary to his degree.

It was an unvarying qualification, and one not restricted to Masonic fraternities, that the candidate should be of sound body and mind, and unqualifiedly of legitimate parentage. This last stipulation was insisted upon, in the thirteenth century, by the French stonecutters,[1] under penalty of a heavy fine.[2]

[1] Tant seulement nez de loial marriage. Boileau, *Livre des Metiers de Paris*, cap. 48.

[2] Halliwell's MSS., Art. 4 and 5, is explicit upon these points:

An apprenticeship varied; in some trades it endured for ten years, in others, five or six. It may be said here, to the honor of the law-making powers of that period, that statutes regulating trades were so framed as to make thoroughly skilled workmen, and no advancement was permitted until apprentices had exhibited suitable proficiency[1] in the details of work assigned them. French masters were allowed one apprentice for the definite term of six years.[2] At the end of the fifth year they were permitted to accept another. Under specific circumstances, the Master of Royal Masons in Paris was indulged the privilege of two workmen of this degree. An exception in favor of masters' sons, curtailing apprenticeship, if of legitimate birth,[3] was also conceded. Any infringement upon the regulations cited was punished by a fine, which should be immediately paid to the chapel of Saint Blase, who, as already noted, was the patron saint of French masons.

The prevailing law affecting the duration of apprentice-

"Yat he no bondsman prentys make."
"So yat ye prentys be of lawful blod." Fol. 7.

Saint Canute's Guild, one of the oldest Scandinavian fraternities, made it a condition precedent to initiation that the applicant should be without reproach: "idonea sit persona et sine infamia." *De Personis Intrantibus*, in Wilda, *Gilden Wesen im Mittelalter*, p. 117. This, according to Wilda, *loc. cit.*, was the unvarying requirement of membership, confirmed by Toulman Smith, *English Guilds*, pp. 190–229. See Winzer, *Die Deutschen Bruderschaften des Mittelalters*, p. 28, and *Ordnung der Strassburger Steinmetzen*, in Krause, *Die Drei ältesten Kunsturkunden*, Bd. II., Ab. 1, p. 284.

[1] This, during the Middle Ages, was by no means an empty formulary, but rigidly insisted upon, that an Apprentice or Companion (Fellow) should execute such work as would entitle him to advancement. Lorsque l'apprenti ou le compagnon sollicitait la maîtrise, l'un et l'autre prenaient le titre *d'aspirants* et dés lors ils se trouvaient soumis à des examens succesif. Lacroix, *Les Moeurs et Usages au Moyen Age*, p. 316. Such aspirant was required to exhibit his proficiency by producing a masterpiece of the craft which he followed. *Ibid.*

[2] Boileau, *Reglemens sur les Metiers de Paris*, cap. 48. [3] *Ibid.*

ship among the Germans, directed[1] that no apprentice (Diener) should be accepted for a less period than five years, and in this respect the ordinances drawn up at Torgau,[2] in 1462, perfectly agree. Notwithstanding this limitation was universal in Germany so early as 1459 and 1462, yet, in the year 1518, Jacob von Schweinfurt,[3] desiring to render the Saxon lodges independent of the Grand Lodge of Magdeburg and Strassburg, enunciated the heretic doctrine that four years was the ancient term for an apprenticeship. This difficulty was finally adjusted between the conflicting bodies, and the original five years were again accepted by the master builders who had acknowledged the pretensions of Schweinfurt.

In England a more extended duration of service was demanded of an apprentice mason, namely, seven years,[4] and with this regulation the statute law of England entirely coincided.[5] The German Masons conscientiously attended to the principles which underlaid their society; and, so great was the respect maintained towards the term of apprenticeship, that the confraternity of sculptors, whose limit of servitude was three years, was relentlessly excluded from a participation in the stonecutters' lodges, nor were they permitted to be associated with them in mutual handiwork, as previously.[6] According to Stieglitz,[7] this antipathy was perpetuated down to a recent

[1] *Ordnung der Strassburger Haupthütte v. Yahre* 1459; Krause, *Die Drei ältesten Kunsturkunden*, Bd. II., Ab. 1, p. 284.

[2] *Ordnung der Steinmetzen, Anno* 1462.

[3] Stieglitz, *Ueber die Kirche und Steinmetz-Hütte zu Rochlitz*, p. 15.

[4] All the English manuscripts, I believe, are identical in this particular.

[5] "To exercise a trade in any town, without having previously served as an apprentice for seven years .... is punished by statute, 5 Elizabeth, c. 4, with forfeiture of forty shillings by the month." Blackstone, *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, Vol. IV., p. 160.

[6] Stieglitz, *Ueber die Steinmetz-Hütte zu Rochlitz*, p. 25.

[7] *Ibid.* By the Strassburg regulation, an applicant, who had served a legal term of years with unprivileged masons,— murer, maurer, perhaps bricklayers,

date in Germany; and, even at the time he wrote (1829), both corporations, still clinging to the shadow of organized bodies, failed to fraternize.

When the term of apprenticeship had expired,[1] the craftsman was entitled to ask and receive advancement to the degree of Fellow, or Companion,[2] which grade in the line of promotion seems to have been exclusively recognized by the mediæval Masons and their associates, the carpenters.[3] In the regulations of 1254, it is ordered as follows:[4] The master with whom the apprentice has served the requisite time, shall go before the Master of Masons and testify that his artisan has well and truly fulfilled his term. Whereupon the General Master, who has control of the craft, shall cause the apprentice to swear upon the Scriptures[5] that he will not deviate from the established usages and customs of the fraternity, but maintain them for all time. It does not, however, appear whether or not the French apprentice passed directly to the degree of Master, or whether, upon obligating himself in the pre-

— and desired to be instructed in true masonic art, was compelled to apprentice himself in order to complete the necessary term of years. Vide Krause, *Die Drei celtesten Kunsturkunden*, Bd. II., Ab. 1, p. 285.

[1] The lapse of time now required in modern Freemasonry to intervene between degrees has so obviously descended from the above noted custom as to render comment unnecessary. Additional proof may be found in the limitation as established by the Grand Orient of France, at the close of the last century. No Apprentice could be advanced to the grade of Fellow before attaining to twenty-three years, nor to that of a Master till he was twenty-five, and an interval of three and a half months must elapse between the two last degrees. *Regulateur du Maçon*, anno 1801; p. 4, *Grade du Compag.*, and p. 3, *Gr. du Maïtre.*

[2] Sous le nom de *garçons* ou *compagnons* du devoir, les compagnons, quoique relevant aussi de la communauté du métier auquel ils appartenaient, composaient également des affiliations distinctes. Lacroix, *Les Moeurs et Usages au Moyen Age*, p. 323.

[3] Le surnom (garçon ou compagnon) fut d'abord exclusivement appliqué aux charpentiers et aux maçons. *Ibid., loc. cit.* This *dictum*, from so illustrious an antiquary as Lacroix, should be final.

[4] Boileau, *Les Metiers de Paris*, cap. 48.

[5] Le mestrier doit fére jurer a l'apprentis seur sains. *Ibid.*

scribed form, he became a Fellow, and remained in that position until, according to the custom of the craft, he was advanced to a Mastership. The latter opinion would seem to be the more accurate one, as the context of this venerable document fairly warrants such assumption. For instance, the Master was specifically sworn to preserve the trade with fidelity and zeal, and in strict accordance with ancient landmarks; and in case he should be led to suspect anything detrimental to the fraternity, it was his duty to reveal it at once to the General Master.

English apprentices, upon the advancement to the degree of Fellow, took the prescribed oath upon the Scriptures or holy-dome, which were held by a senior (warden).[1]

It is uncertain how long the obligated candidate remained a Fellow,[2] but it is inferable that when initiated into the secrets of this degree, he received the essential parts of the mystic rites of the brotherhood, and the fullest details of architectural art. Whenever circumstances permitted him to assume the superintendence of masons, then the final grade of Master was conferred upon him. He was also instructed in the powers and duties incident to that station, together with the secret symbols which constituted the groundwork of his authority.

All the mystical and geometrical secrets of Freemasonry were certainly given in this degree, so that when the Fellow-craftsman was appointed or selected to direct a lodge of builders, he was instructed in nothing further, with the exception, perhaps, of the emblems incident to a Master's power and the legend of the builder.

[1] Lansdowne MSS.

[2] The custom in the vast majority of craft guilds, was for a Fellow who desired to become a Master, to prepare an unexceptionably fine piece of his handicraft This was produced before a syndic of sworn tradesmen, who, after a lively discussion, decided upon the work and the Fellow's capacity, and if favorable, he was obliged to take an oath of allegiance to the king, etc. Lacroix, *Les Moeurs et Usages au Moyen Age*, p. 316. There was a sworn syndicate in Paris in 1254, of masons and carpenters, no doubt for this very purpose. Boileau *Reglemens sur Metiers*, cap. cxii.

CHAPTER XXI.

FELLOW-CRAFTSMEN MAY TRAVEL AND HAVE A MARK — PRELIMINARY ARRANGEMENTS FOR INITIATION — BURLESQUE RITUALISM — PREPARATION FOR THE DEGREE — GRIP AND PASSWORD CONFERRED — WHITE GLOVES AND THE BANQUET — MEDIÆVAL LODGE: HOW ENTERED BY A TRAVELLING BROTHER — THE WARDEN, OR MASTER, WEARS A HAT — MASONIC GREETING — ESPECIAL PRIVILEGES OF A WANDERING COMPANION — TO BE HELPED AND RECEIVE SUPPORT — CRY FOR ASSISTANCE — THE SECRETS OF ANCIENT FREEMASONS — MORAL PRINCIPLES AND PERFECT MECHANICAL SKILL — LIBERAL ARTS AND SCIENCES — MASONS SHALL ASSIST EACH OTHER — THE MASTER'S PREROGATIVES — TEMPERATE HABITS INCULCATED — CHRISTIAN INFLUENCE OVER THE FRATERNITY — A WARDEN'S DUTIES IN THE MASTER'S ABSENCE — HIS OATH OF OFFICE ON A SQUARE AND GAUGE — FREEMASONS: HOW ORGANIZED WHEN AT WORK — SYSTEM OF A CRAFTSMAN'S LABOR.

THE apprentice having honorably terminated, and with conceded proficiency, the term of years during which he was held subject to his master's control, he was entitled to be received and recognized as a Fellow-craft Mason.[1] This degree carried with it immunities and privileges which belonged in no wise to the former. As a Fellow or Companion, the operative was at liberty to wander whither he pleased in search of work. This facility was denied the apprentice, unless the master were unable to furnish him with employment; in that case

[1] *Ordnung der Steinmetzen zu Torgau*, Art. 26.

he could *loan* his apprentice a mark, in order that he might travel in quest of labor.[1]

Each Entered Apprentice Mason, upon his initiation into the mysteries of a Fellow-craft's grade, received a distinguishing mark,[2] and took his membership *ipso facto* in the lodge where the degree was conferred upon him! The initiation was substantially as follows: After the candidate had passed a successful examination touching his skill before older Fellows of the craft,[3] a report was made to the lodge in due form, and was vouched for by the Master who had a thorough knowledge of his craftsman's morals and attainments. In addition to this, as already shown, upon the conclusion of the apprentice's six years in France, the master produced him before the General Master, and attested his proficiency.[4]

Oftentimes a burlesque initiation[5] was performed upon the applicant, in order to render the genuine mysteries more solemn and impressive. The brethren divested themselves of their implements and short swords in entering the mystic lodge (perhaps in a crypt), for the reason that the highest symbolism of harmony and sanctity was to be impressed upon the suppliant.[6] The lodge being opened in suitable form, the Master presiding directed a brother Mason to prepare the candidate. His weapons, and all

[1] Do mag ein Meister seinen Diener ein Zeichen verleihen im sein Leryaren zu wandern, wann der meister nicht förderunge hatte. *Ibid.*, Art. 30.

[2] Ein Meyster soll seinen Diener sein Zeichen, nicht lenger vorhalten den xiv. Tag. *Ibid.*, Art. 26. See Wilda, *Das Gilden Wesen im Mittelalter*, p. 223.

[3] Fallou, *Mysterien der Freimaurer*, p. 59. This agrees with Lacroix, *Les Arts au Moyen Age*, p. 316.

[4] Li mestres à cui li apprentis ait fet et par accompli son term, doit venir pardevant le mestre du mestier et tesmoigner que son apprentis à feit son terme. Boileau, *Livre des Metiers*, cap. 48.

[5] Fallou, *Mysterien der Freimaurer*, p. 60. In this ludicrous ceremony the initiate was obliged to carry a staff; for what purpose does not appear.

[6] Fallou, *Mysterien der Freimaurer*, p. 58, evidently followed by Findel, *Geschichte der Freimaurerei*, p. 71, etc. Winzer, *Die Deutschen Bruderschaften des Mittelalters*, p. 67. The sanctity of a mediæval lodge mounts up to the opening of Teutonic judicial organizations. See *infra*.

substances of like material, were taken from him; a portion of his clothing was removed, so as to bare his breast,[1] and with bandaged eyes and left foot unshod he sounded three distinct blows upon the lodge door.[2] Upon his entrance, a Warden received him and conducted him before the Master, who stood in the East. The candidate knelt, and a short prayer was offered, after which he was led thrice around the room and back to the door, where, with his feet at a right angle, he was ordered to advance by three upright, measured steps. The candidate was then placed in position to take the prescribed obligation, which involved the contact of his right hand with the sacred Scriptures — holy-dome — and the square and compasses.[3] He swore to be true and loyal, and faithfully adhere to all the charges and regulations of a Mason, and to conceal with care and fidelity the secrets of the fraternity. The bandage was then removed, and the three great lights explained. An apron was presented to him, and having received the password, "Wortzeichen," and grip, "Handschenck," he took his seat as a member of the lodge.[4]

It is said that white gloves[5] were presented to the initiate at the termination of the degree; such usage was still practised at the close of the eighteenth century.[6]

[1] Fallou, *ut supra*, p. 108, says the left knee and breast were both bared in initiation during the Middle Ages.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 243. This custom seems to have come from the Benedictines. Vide Du Cange, *Glos. Med. et Infim. Lat.*, sub voce, *oblati*. Winzer, *ut supra;* Krause, *Die Drei ältesten Kunsturkunden*, Bd. I., Ab. 1, pp. 139, 140.

[3] Findel, *Geschichte der Freimaurerei*, p. 71, and Fallou, *Ibid.* The wardens, at all events, were sworn upon the square and compass, "die Eid strebe mit maszstabe unnd winkelmas zu den Heyligen." *Ordnung der Steinmetzen*, 1462, Art. 18. This explicitly declares that the patron saints of the order were invoked during the obligation.

[4] Findel, *ut supra*, p. 72; also, Winzer, *Die Bruderschaften des Mittelalters*, pp. 67, 68. Unless noted, the above details have been taken mainly from Fallou.

[5] Fallou, *Mysterien der Freimaurer*, p. 111, inclines to the opinion that this usage began about the year 1688. In 1686, it was obligatory to present such gloves prior to the initiation. Plot, *History of Staffordshire*, § 86.

[6] White gloves were used in the mystic ceremonies of French lodges, at the

A custom, in vogue among European Masons at present, prevailed with the mediæval craftsmen, to conclude the initiatory rites with a banquet,[1] — a custom not confined to stonecutters' corporations, but was a common practice with all fraternities of the Middle Ages. Prayer on such occasions opened and closed the festivities. According to the universal precedent in those distant ages, the Master drank to the health and honor of the newly-made brother, out of a lodge drinking horn, called "willkommen," or welcome cup.[2] To this toast the initiate responded by emptying the horn in prosperity of the craft. Ancient usage required that this toasting should be performed in three cadences or motions. A glove or handkerchief covered the hand which grasped the bowl; the lid was then raised and finally carried to the lips and drank in three regularly-timed draughts;[3] after which it was replaced on the banqueting table with similar movements. Oftentimes the festivities were prepared by the initiate himself, and, not unfrequently, the expenses incident were mutually borne between the lodge and Fellow-craft.

By the ordinance of 1462,[4] the corporation's share of reckoning is definitely fixed, and beyond this it must become the brother's private expenditure.

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opening of the present century, in order to symbolize purity; after conferring the degree, they were to be donated to the aspirant's wife. *Regulateur du Maçon*, p. 33 (grade d'apprenti).

[1] *Ordnung der Steinmetzen v. Yahre* 1462, Art. 27.

[2] This custom, as noted in the text, is clearly derived from the ancient Germans. At Scandinavian feasts, the principal person at the table took the cup first, and rising, saluted courteously by name either him who sat nearest or who was highest in rank. He then drank the toast, and having filled the bowl, presented it to the person who had been toasted. Mallet, *Northern Antiquities*, p. 196. See Simrock, *Deutsche Mythologie*, p. 489, for a full and lucid explanation of the substitution of Christian saints in place of heathen gods, to whom these toasts were anciently given. The *Regulateur du Maçon*, p. 40, *et seq.* (grade d'apprenti), gives minute details for such banquets.

[3] Krause, *Die Drei ältesten Kunsturkunden*, Bd. I., Abt. 1, p. 271.

[4] Art. 27, and Stieglitz, *Ueber die Kirche und Steinmetz-Hütte zu Bochlitz*, p. 63.

When the degree of Fellow was conferred upon the Apprentice, the craftsman was in a position to travel whither he pleased. Whenever a travelling brother in search of employment or assistance approached a lodge and desired to gain admission, he gave three distinct knocks upon the door.[1] The brethren within immediately ceased their work, laid down their tools, and formed themselves in regular, probably, geometrical order, but the Master or Pallirer (warden) occupied no distinctive position, as has been erroneously asserted. Upon entering the lodge, the visiting craftsman advanced by three upright measured steps, and gave the salute, "Gruss," or hailing sign.[2] After having saluted the congregated lodge, the wandering brother, in formal manner,[3] thus addressed them: "May God greet you, may God direct you, may God reward you, president Master, Pallirer (warden), and you good Fellows." Thereupon the Master, or if absent, the Pallirer, was obliged to respond with thanks, in order that the visitor *might discern who was the Master of the lodge.*[4] Then the stranger craftsman resumed the fraternal colloquy, and said: "My Master"—calling him by name—"sends you cordial greeting."[5] After this he passed around the lodge before all the craftsmen, for the purpose of saluting them in the same friendly way as he had greeted the Master, and in return for his salutation, the Master, Warden, and Fellows gave a courteous response.[6] And this was the custom for travelling Masons to go around the lodge, from one to another, thanking each brother, in case he received favors at his hands. In case a Fellow-craft, thus wander-

[1] Findel, *Geschichte der Freimaurerei*, p. 72; Winzer, *Die Deutschen Bruderschaften des Mittelalters*, p. 70. Consult Fallou, *ut supra.*

[2] *Ordnung der Steinmetzen zu Torgau*, 1462, Art. 107.

[3] Gott grüsse euch. Gott weyse euch. Gott lone euch, euch Obermeister erwiderung, Pallirer und euch hübschen gesellen. *Ibid., loc. cit.*

[4] So sol In der meister oder pallirer danken das er sieht welcher der oberst ist in der Hütten. *Ibid.*

[5] Compare Sloane MSS. 3329, Ed. by Woodford, p. xix.

[6] *Ordnung, et loc. cit.* Stieglitz, *Ueber der Steinmetz-Hütte zu Rochlitz*, p. 73.

ing, arrived before the lodge was convened for labor, he was entitled to receive a *per diem* compensation.

After the mutual salutes, in accordance with the prescribed regulation, had been finished, if it happened that the visiting operative desired material assistance, he was at liberty to demand it of the Master, who, by virtue of his obligation, was necessitated to aid him to the extent of his financial ability,[1] and was also required to expend his wages for the distressed brother's comfort, if it were demanded.[2] If, perchance, the master builder had so little work as to be comparatively idle, upon demand, he was compelled to go with the applicant, and aid him with the other brethren.[3] Also, when a travelling Mason petitioned for a chisel and piece of stone, in order to carve his mark upon it, his request was immediately complied with.[4] As a last resort, to render his urgent appeal for help effective, he exclaimed, "Help me, that God may help you."[5] Assistance was then given, and thereupon he removed his hat, and said very humbly: "May God thank (reward) you, Worshipful Master, Pallirer (wardens), and worthy Fellows."

The custom of taking the hat off, during the reception ceremonies, will be further discussed. It was by means of signs, grips, and passwords, that members of different Masonic lodges recognized one another,[6] and any profanation of them was impressively guarded against and severely punished.

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[1] It was this mutual obligation among Masons that highly offended Dr. Plot, *History of Staffordshire*, § 86, who charges the fraternity in his day (1686) with obtaining maintenance by means of signs, etc.

[2] So sol In der meister fördern auff das nechste lohn und nit versagen. *Ordnung der Steinmetzen zu Torgau*, Art. 108.

[3] *Ibid., loc. cit.*

[4] Ein Itzlicher wandergeselle soll bithen umb eine bücke, darnach umb ein stük steins, darauf darnach umb gezeugk, das soll man In williglichen leihen. *Ibid.*, Art. 109.

[5] Helffet mir auff oder In das euch Gott helffe. *Ibid.*, Art. 110.

[6] Scherr, *Deutsche Cultur*, p. 162.

The secrets of a mediæval lodge consisted of a thorough and profound knowledge of the rudiments of those arts and sciences by a successful combination of which superb edifices were erected to the honor of the living God! These principles were preserved in symbolic form, as no written draughts were allowed.

The symbols were composed principally of geometric elements; for instance, of the right angle, triangle, quadrangle, pentagon, sexagon, octagon, and circle. Sometimes they were borrowed from the implements used in building, such as the square, gauge, level, plumb, etc. The first cited symbols had a direct reference to art, and were designed to serve both as a perpetual reminder of the rules of construction, and to portray, in a tangible form, various types of proportion. In their emblematic relations, these figures unfolded to the brethren a more profound wisdom; to the Master, an immutable clue; and to the Fellows and Apprentices, a finger-board in the ever-lengthening route of knowledge. In nearly every instance, perhaps, the symbols contained valuable moral instructions to the humble and pious artisan,[1] and were typified to impress the Mason's heart with the beauties of an upright life, in all business and professional transactions,—a meaning which lay concealed in the angle of the square, the perfect circle, and reliable level.[2]

In the document which is asserted to have been written by King Henry VI., of England, is contained a valuable summary of such secrets as were claimed by mediæval lodges. There is no reason to assume, however, that this famous treatise was the production of its alleged author, although it bears all the internal evidence of having been prepared by a Masonic writer, towards the close of the fifteenth or beginning of the sixteenth century. Masonic mysteries are there stated to be a knowledge of natural

[1] Luebke, *Geschichte der Plastik*, p. 442.

[2] Stieglitz, *Geschichte der Baukunst*, pp. 609, 610.

sciences and their inherent powers, together with the ability to interpret the varied operations of nature.— Especial claim is made to skill in the science of numbers; to mechanical and mathematical learning; to admeasurements, and the entire understanding of moulding and fashioning all things for man's use, chiefly the constructive art involved in the erection of dwellings and edifices of every description; and also — attesting the moralistic tone of the fraternity — to an acquaintance with those things which make *good men*.[1] Instruction was given the members in the seven liberal arts and sciences, which the monasteries contributed, but, according to the treatise from which we are quoting, religion was made a prominent portion of lodge secrets.

Mediæval craftsmen declared they possessed the proper method of teaching the arts, and, judging from the monuments of skill which they have transmitted, it is necessary to concede the correctness of this assumption.

It was also recited to be among the mysteries of Masonry, the science of attaining a degree of moral perfection, and becoming good men without the fluctuating influences of hope and fear.[2] However, of all Masonic secrets claimed by this ancient record, the most significant is "the way of winning the faculty of Abrac."[3] This faculty of Abrac is of such transcendent importance for the internal history of lodge Arcana, that a detailed dissertation of the same will be given hereafter. It will materially assist in tracing mystical references of Masonry to a very remote antiquity, and furnish the thread by which Oriental influence can be connected with the Gothic symbolism of the fraternity.

Lodges, during the Middle Ages, paid close attention to

[1] This curious manuscript has been frequently published; my edition is the reprint by Krause, *Die Drei ältesten Kunsterkunden*, Bd. I., Ab. 1, p. 20.

[2] "The skylle of becommynge gude and parfyghte wythouten the Holpynges of Fere and Hope." Krause, *ut supra*, p. 26.

[3] Krause, *loc. cit.*

their members' morals, and instructions having a devotional and spiritualistic tendency constituted a large part of lodge discipline; all trifling subjects were rigidly excluded, and every infringement upon the rules of order and general regulations was severely punished.[1]

The prescriptions, which required an implicit obedience by the members, were calculated to ennoble the heart, and dignify humanity. It was ordered that the Master should hold his authority with equal justice towards his Wardens and Fellows;[2] and dishonor attached to that Master who vilified and assailed the character of a brother craftsman.[3] Any Mason who borrowed aught from his brethren, and by his indifferent conduct evinced a disinclination to adjust the loan, or lacked the will to return in kind, or belied, or betrayed, and endeavored to supplant another in his work,[4] or scorned and injured him while in the faithful prosecution of his Masonic vocations,—such brother was held unworthy of fraternal association, and was relentlessly expelled.[5] No Pallirer (warden) or Fellow should further his individual interests by a present or bribe to the Master,—such attempt being strictly enjoined by lodge regulations.[6]

Pallirer were obliged to manifest a steady and unwavering kindness towards the Fellows and Apprentices, and on every occasion show, by unequivocal conduct, to what extent such professions were genuine.[7] These officers were prohibited from undermining the Master in his legitimate labors; neither should he be slandered by false and mali-

[1] Scherr, *Deutsche Cultur*, p. 162.

[2] *Ordnung der Steinmetzen*, 1462, Art. 9, 10, 19.

[3] *Ibid.*, Art. 17.

[4] Yet shall no mayster supplant oyer. Halliwell's MSS., 17 A1, ars. 11. The English manuscripts contain similar injunctions. See Kloss, *Die Freimaurerei in ihrer wahren Bedeutung*, p. 122, and Findel, *Geschichte der Freimaurerei*, p. 99.

[5] *Ordnung der Steinmetzen*, 1462, Art. 34, 37.

[6] *Ibid.*, Art. 21.

[7] *Ibid.*, Art. 49.

cious reports; if the Wardens were at any time detected in thus backbiting, they stood before the craft as dishonored.[1]

It was the Pallirer's duty to assist the Master in his management and control of the Fellows, to carefully scrutinize their workmanship, in order that the building or the Master might suffer no loss.[2] A portion of his powers enabled him to clear the lodge from all tippling, except in quiet vespers, when a little relaxation was allowed; but he was charged with the duty of restricting the craft from an indulgence in excessive drinking.[3] In this respect a mediæval Warden exactly corresponds with a junior of the present time, whose station and duties require him to superintend the craft during the hours of refreshment, and to guard them against converting the intermission of labor into intemperance or excesses. No Master was at liberty to advance a Fellow who slandered or did an injury to his brother, or associated with lewd women, and lived in a licentious manner; — if he failed to confess, he should be expelled as an evil-doer.

No Fellow-craftsman was permitted to drive usurious bargains between the Master and other persons; neither

[1] *Ibid.*, Art. 53. In many craft guilds the master lost his privileges to preside over a trade, if he served as journeyman under a master. Lacroix, *Les Mœurs et Usages au Moyen Age*, p. 317.

[2] *Ordinance of Torgau*, 1462, Art. 57.

[3] *Ibid.*, Art. 58, 59. This salutary regulation was enforced by the guilds of England, and constituted an essential element of internal discipline. It was a standing order, that "whoso make any noyse in tyme of drynking where throw ye breyere and sisteren shul be greyd he shal pay to amendment of the lyzth (lights) di. pound of wax." Toulman Smith, *English Guilds*, p. 61. Another ordinance apparently incorporated into guildic government, was a rigid prohibition, under penalty of xii^{d} (a large sum in those days), for any member to enter the ale chamber without leave. In addition to the honor of presiding over the guild, there was a substantial emolument appurtenant to the office, in the nature of a more liberal supply of ale than was allowed the congregated brothers and sisters. *Ibid.*, pp. 90–92, 95. The master or alderman "scal hav evere nith wilis ye drinken ij galoun of ale" — two gallons of alè for a master in one drinking bout! I fancy this would transcend the carrying capacity of our modern worshipfuls.

should he speak evil of the brethren, nor gibe them. Over-eating and intemperate drinking were interdicted this grade of operatives.[1] A constant tendency, on the part of the mediæval Masons, is perceptible, to impress the mind with the great fundamental principles of truth and morality.

A cursory examination of the Strassburg ordinance of 1459, will make manifest the profound religious feeling which evidently inspired the master builders to frame, in a Christian spirit, the following concluding clause: "Since God, the Almighty, has graciously favored us, masters and workmen, in devoting our talents and labor in a praiseworthy manner, for the erection of His sacred edifices and other artistic works, and by such handicraft are enabled to earn an honest living, therefore, in humble imitation of Christian people, will we for the future, with pure thankfulness, continue, moved by our hearts' impulses, to serve God, and in that way deserve our souls' salvation."[2] Such principles, with which the Masonic life and conduct were in harmony, necessarily contributed to elevate the brethren, and developed a high honor and sincere regard for the lodge as a consecrated place.[3]

Among the multifarious duties incident to the Pallirer's office, was that of testing the accuracy of the gauges and squares; and in order that no false proportions might vitiate the exactitude of measurements, he was obliged to see these implements properly adjusted.[4] The Warden placed each block of stone in position before the appren-

[1] *Ordnung, cit.*, Art. 33–8, 71–76. Like regulation among the early English masons. Vide Halliwell MSS., Lansdowne MSS., Art. 6. "Also, that none slander another behind his back to make him lose his good name." Hughan, *Old Masonic Charges*, p. 35.

[2] Vide *Ordnung der Steinmetzen v. Yahre* 1459, in Krause, *Die Drei ältesten Kunsturkunden*, Bd. II., Abt. 1, p. 288.

[3] *Ordnung der Steinmetzen zu Torgau*, 1462, Art. 11–13.

[4] Ein Pallirer soll allweg Richtscheyt und Kolmasz und alles was zu den gehört rechtfertigen. *Ibid.*, Art. 49.

tices and Fellows, and drew out suitable designs upon it; he was compelled to inspect with care the preparation of all material, and have it perfected up to the submitted diagrams.[1] If the Pallirer fractured any material to such extent as to render it useless, he was not allowed compensation for the work, and, moreover, must pay for the stone.[2]

Equally minute regulations were enforced upon the Fellows while at labor. The craftsman was strictly enjoined to replace the measuring board (gauge) after necessary use, nor was he permitted to take it down again until the Master or Warden had examined his workmanship. He was also instructed never to leave the square hanging upon the stone. The gauge must be returned to its proper place, and the level hung up.[3]

It was zealously inculcated as a lodge duty to render requisite assistance to a brother applying for help, not only in matter of charity, but to aid him in the artistic preparation of work, if the brother were unable to do it himself.[4] If the craftsman could not change the position of the stone on which he was at work, or having moved it, found himself unable to properly replace the same, upon a call for aid to a brother within hailing distance, assistance was immediately rendered.[5] Without permission expressly given, he was not at liberty to take additional working tools.[6] And any operative violating these rules was subject to a payment of certain fines for each infraction. Every Fellow-craft was punished with pre-

[1] Der Pallirer soll dem Gesellen und dem Diener williglichen stein wol besehen ob er recht und wol gemacht ist. *Ibid.*, Art. 50.

[2] *Ordnung der Steinmetzen*, 1462, Art. 51.

[3] *Ibid.*, Art. 69.

[4] "Yat sygth hys fellow hewen on a stone,
And ȳs ȳn point to spylle yat stone,
Shall amend yat stone and help him."
Halliwell MSS., Art. 11.

[5] *Ordnung der Steinmetzen*, 1462, Art. 72.

[6] *Ibid.*, Art. 68.

scribed penalties, in case the material before him fell from the bench, or carelessly suffered the handle of an implement to slip or become loose, particularly if such working tool were essential to the fine preparation of the stone; because in this way the work might be injured or rendered less accurate. If the artist failed to close and properly secure the window which opened upon his bench, a fine was assessed against him.[1]

It was ordered that the Pallirer (Wardens) and Fellows, every Monday afternoon at one o'clock, during quiet vespers, should repair to the Master,[2] in order to learn what work was to be prepared, and to be properly set at labor for the ensuing week.

The German craftsmen appear to have been under the direct superintendence of a "pallirer," who answered to the English "warden."[3] He was the assistant of the Master, and, under certain circumstances, assumed his station and duties. In case the Master was absent from the lodge, or distant from the building in process of construction, or died during its erection, the Pallirer had plenary powers to act, and do what the exigencies demanded.[4] When the Master was called away, it devolved upon his representative to dismiss the craft, to assist travelling Fellows, and also to allow the craftsmen and apprentices a suitable time for refreshment and repose.[5]

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[1] *Ibid.*, Art. 69.

[2] "Welcher pallirer nith bey seinem meyster und verhöre, was er den montag thun soll," u. s. w. *Ibid.*, Art. 86. This is the groundwork of the present absolute power of a master to lay out and execute lodge work.

[3] Scherr, *Deutsche Cultur*, p. 162. Sometimes written Polirer. Krause, *Die Drei ältesten Kunsturkunden*, Bd. II., Ab. 2, p. 262. For duties of Pallirer, see Kloss, *Die Freimaurerei in ihrer wahren Bedeutung*, p. 140, *et seq.*

[4] Wenn ein meyster nicht bey dem werk ist, oder von hinnen were so hat der Pallirer gantze vole macht zu them oder zu lassen das recht ist und in abscheid dess Meisters. *Ordinance of* 1462, Art. 55. The principle involved in this regulation still subsists as a landmark of the Freemasons.

[5] *Ibid.*, Art. 60, 61.

One of the prevailing usages which has descended to our time, was that, in the Master's absence, the lodge and its government were entrusted to his care, for which he was answerable to his superior officer; and during such temporary authority, the Pallirer or Warden was obliged to regulate everything in accordance with strict justice.[1] Upon him also rested the responsible duty of guarding the freedom of the lodge,[2] and to preserve the old landmarks and Masonic privileges according to ancient custom, as sanctioned by the "book of Masons' law."[3] He was required to be the first at lodge in the morning, and also at midday, after refreshment, as soon as the lodge was called on for work, so that the Fellows, by virtue of his example, should go to labor at the proper time.

In case the Master suffered damage through the delay or dereliction of his warden in these duties, the loss must be indemnified. The high importance attending the administration of the Pallirer's office caused his election and obligation to be singularly impressive.[4] In such selection, particular care was taken to secure a suitable and efficient officer, and the choice was only made in the presence of Masters and Wardens. No apprentice was eligible to this position; nor could a Warden be inducted into office until his competency was vouched for by the Master, who, with the other Masters of lodges, was obliged to attest his fitness, and, in a measure, be responsible for the faithful performance of his duties.[5]

[1] *Ordinance of* 1462, Art. 48, 65.

[2] *Ibid.*, Art. 60.

[3] Also die Pallirer und halten das also das altherkomen der Hüttenrecht nach Inhaldunge der alten Gewonheit und nach dem Buch und Ordnunge der Eide. *Ibid.*, Art. 47. The section cited is suggestive of two facts: the one, that the regulations above referred to are here plainly declared to have been drawn from older lodge rituals (Hüttenrecht). The other, that the Master and Pallirer unquestionably assumed an obligation specifically different from that administered to the initiate Apprentice or Fellow: "ordnunge der Eid," *according to the direction of the oath.*

[4] *Ordnung der Steinmetzen*, 1462, Art. 18–19.

[5] Und keinen setzen er könne es denn verhegen das die leute und er damit versorgt sein. *Ibid.*, Art. 18.

Upon the election of a Pallirer or Warden, and acceptance of the position being signified, he was clothed with the prerogatives of that office. Previous to investiture, he took the prescribed oath in due form, which was with his hand on the gauge and square; and in this significant attitude he obligated himself, under the invocation of the patron saints, to protect the building and preserve his Master from loss.[1] He was then placed before the Fellow-craftsmen, who were compelled to promise him faithful obedience; in his installation, the same submission was exacted as was demanded during the ceremony of inducting a Master into office.[2]

These rites, in conformity to the usages of that age, were concluded with a banquet.[3]

The earliest authentic documents indicate that, as far back as the eleventh century, the craftsmen were regularly organized while at labor. In a celebrated manuscript in the Imperial Library at Paris,[4] and of which a copy is now before me, seven masons, clothed with tunic aprons, are delineated at work on a wall being laid over two arches, supported by three columns. Two artisans, one between each of the pilasters, are manipulating a newly-finished block of marble, while two others, apparently apprentices, standing erect, have severally handed a perfect ashlar stone to three workmen behind the wall above, one of whom is busily engaged in cementing a block to the building with a trowel. Another is employed in knocking the stone which he has just received from the craftsmen below with a stroke-hammer; and the third operative

[1] So soll In die Pallirschaft befehlen und die eid strebe mit maszstabe und winkelmas zu den Heyligen die Gebeude und dess meisters schaden zu bewahren. *Ibid.*, Art. 18.

[2] Wenn ein meister einen Pallirer hat gesetzt so sollen In die Gesellen geloben gehorsam zu sein als dem Meyster. *Ibid.*, Art. 20.

[3] *Ordnung der Steinmetzen*, 1462, Art. 20.

[4] Designated as *Bible de Noialles*. Vide Lacroix, *Les Arts et Sciences au Moyen Age*, p. 465.

is casting an antique plumb-line, in order to test the perpendicular accuracy of the rising superstructure. It may be added that the plumb seems to be composed of an elongated bar of lead or iron attached to a cord, at the extreme end of which is a hook, evidently designed to be fastened to the outer edge of the wall, so that when the oscillating motion of the line ceased, the wall itself was a resting board.

In their earliest workmanship, the apprentices, no doubt, performed the more unimportant parts of labor; as, for example, familiarizing themselves with the use of masonic tools, by pounding off the angles and corners of rough stones with a stroke-hammer, and using the gauge or measuring board to shape edges into true and perfect lines. I think it more in harmony with the dictates of sound reason to presume that the fullest instruction in all the details of art was vouchsafed the apprentice, in an exact proportion as he evinced his adaptitude to acquire the rudiments of a strict science.

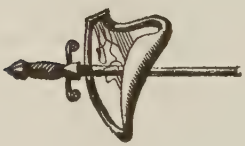
No doubt a secret meaning was attached to many things which he beheld, but the precise signification of which was only comprehended when he had mastered the theory upon which the practice was grounded — the occasional gleam of light that flashed before his inquiring eye, conveyed no fixed idea to a mind untaught, as yet, to interpret the mystic symbolism of its brightness. For instance, as though the apprentice were given the bones of a human frame and directed to conjoin them into a skeleton, he was equally ignorant of that occult combination by which the synthesis of the cathedral or abbey was completed. Precisely as though an anatomist should be compelled to learn disjointed bones and scattered fragments of the body, he would gradually acquire such proficiency as to be able to tell at a glance the bones of the fingers, hands, legs arms; that wondrous casket of the brain — the skull, and shoulders; bones of arms and the feet; the several detached

parcels of the vertebræ, together with varied minuter bones; or, in other words, his skill as an anatomical artist might permit him to fashion and mould each and all of the unnumbered parts of the human frame into an exact similitude with the samples before him; but until he had been taught how to unite the multitudinous particles of this disjointed body, no inherent genius, no innate ingenuity could assist him in the perplexing task. This, I apprehend, will sufficiently illustrate the principle which prevailed among mediæval Masons, touching instruction to apprentice stonecutters.

It is not to be supposed for a moment that this class of artificers, during the continuance of their long term of service, was simply burdened with the mere drudgery of hammering rude and jagged stones, or wielding the gauge with no higher ambition than to make straight and perfect corners. His teacher was his master, and as such practically progressive; and all the instruction essential to render the apprentice a thorough and proficient workman was bestowed upon him during this tutelage.

And in the pursuance of this purpose he advanced gradually, with a greater or lesser degree of proficiency, to a high standard of mechanical skill; so that, at the time the grade of Fellow was conferred on him, he was in full possession already of the necessary knowledge which made him a master of the *details* of architectural art. By *details of art*, are to be understood that the apprentice mason, during his period of service, as in the case cited of the anatomist, had become thoroughly skilled in the several parts of his trade. For example, he could work out with exquisite elaborateness a floriated capital, and chisel into natural semblance the niched figures with which the church militant was delineated upon airy towers and cathedral walls; he could dress, with accuracy, the polished stones suitable for elegant pilasters, and contributed his share of arches upon which the superstructure was raised

with infinite skill,—all this he had acquired during his apprenticeship; but the key by which these multitudinous and detached portions were conjoined, the combination by which foundation stones, pilasters and columns, shining walls, chapters gracefully wreathed with flowers, arches and mullions, canopies and ribbed tracery, flying buttresses and rosette finials, were put together to form the cathedral, was one of the secrets which he obtained on being advanced to the degree of Fellow-craft, and with this he received the interpretation of symbolic allusions with which each church was filled; and, likewise, the emblematical lodge treasures were explained to the extent that, in future, he could read with ease the mystic references which hitherto had guided him as a finger-board on the highways, with no other signification than a necessary ornamentation applied to sacred edifices, or as an inexplicable appurtenance of lodge furniture.



CHAPTER XXII.

WAGES OF BUILDERS: WHAT, AND WHEN PAID — COMPENSATION BY THE ORDINANCE OF 1254 — THE WARDEN GUARDS LODGE RECORDS — PAYS THE CRAFT AT SUNSET — THE MASTER: HIS RELATIONS TO THE MEMBERS — IS THE JUDGE, CUSTODIAN OF PLANS, AND LAYS OUT WORK — A MASTER MUST BE TRIED AND APPROVED BY TWO MASTER BUILDERS — LODGE TO BE FREE FROM DISCORD, AND TYPICAL OF PERFECT PURITY — TREASURER — CHARGES AGAINST DELINQUENTS — SEVERAL LODGES AROUND LARGE STRUCTURES — EXPULSION OF A MASTER — CONFESSIONAL.

AN interesting question arises at this point, as to how the Freemasons of the Middle Ages were paid or maintained during their sojourn in and about their work. The erudition of Von Raumer[1] has furnished a partial solution of what Paly, in his *Manual of Architecture*,[2] confessed to be uncertain.

In the erection of the cathedral at Pisa, in the year 1063, by Buschette, who is claimed to have been master builder of the work, and a Greek or Byzantine architect—an allegation which the distinguished historian first cited thinks by no means proven[3] — the operatives were supported by

[1] *Geschichte der Hohenstaufen*, Bd. VI., p. 490.

[2] *A Manual of Gothic Architecture*, p. 211.

[3] Vide Emeric David, *Histoire de la Peinture au Moyen Age*, p. 115. Milizia, *Memorie degli Architetti*, Tomo IV., p. 134, asserts the Grecian nativity of the artist referred to, but following Vasari, *Vie dei Architetti, etc.*, Tomo I., p. 216, too closely, falls into an error of date, and also assigns the foundations of the Pisan cathedral to the year 1016. See Hawkins, *History of the Origin of Gothic Architecture*, p. 88.

contributions. Each family was expected to make voluntary donations, until the structure was completed, of a sum equivalent to twenty English shillings. The city at that time numbered about thirty-four thousand families, who, at the foregoing rate, rendered a yearly revenue to the construction of the church of £34,000 sterling. Some of the contributors made very slow payments, and proved quite refractory; and others threw many obstacles in the way of collections, in order that the workmen might be hindered; but these suffered adequate punishment at the Archbishop's hands, by being banished from the city.[1] In addition to the above taxations and exactments, the structure received substantial presents of personal property, and occasionally grants of land. The donors usually obtained from the ecclesiastics a gold ring, foxes' skins, etc., as a memorial for their gifts.

Oftentimes public funds were liberally appropriated for the purpose mentioned, and also powerful monarchs, as, for instance, the kings of Sicily and the Byzantine emperors, who had close commercial relations with Pisa, frequently made the cathedral rich and valuable presents. This building, whose construction is specially cited in order to indicate the means by which the great cathedrals of this and subsequent epochs were erected, had an intendant of the possessions which it acquired in Constantinople; and in Western Europe, Frederick I. had these donations under his own particular care. According to the terms of a contract made a hundred years later, in the year 1165, it was stipulated that on important festival days certain gifts of money, wine, and provisions should be furnished, and in case of sickness of the craftsmen, certain deductions were to be allowed.[2]

As late as the year 1265, during the construction of St.

[1] Von Raumer, *Geschichte der Hohenstaufen, op. et loc. cit.*

[2] Von Raumer, *Ibid.*, Theil VI., p. 491.

Antoninus' church, at Padua, 4000 lire were stipulated as a yearly sum for the building and embellishment of the edifice. This sum of money was regularly paid until the work was completed. The accounts involved in this business transaction were under the direction of a Minorite monk and two citizens of the place.[1] For the purpose of successfully terminating the labors of the fraternity, the ecclesiastical authorities, during the Middle Ages, granted indulgences to those who offered voluntary contributions to provide the means wherewith to construct sacred edifices. It frequently occurred that clerics were directed to traverse foreign countries, endowed with such plenary powers, in order to accumulate money and material to be used in building churches.[2] Noblemen and their ladies generously aided in these enterprises, sometimes through a liberal expenditure of finances, or goods and chattels, and at others by actually contracting for the sustenance and support of one or more operative masons.[3] In the year 1192, the artificers employed in building for the Bishop of Chester, were paid out of the personal property belonging to the monastery there.[4]

The earliest authentic account of the pay which a master mason received for daily labor, is contained in the regulations digested by Boileau. Whenever a master builder was called upon, and sworn, to decide any question arising in the progress of a work, or selected to arbitrate any matter connected with his trade, he was entitled to receive as wages two sous from each party in the case.[5] At a later

[1] Worueber ein Minorit und zwei Bürger Rechnung führten und ablegten. Von Raumer, *op. et loc. cit.*

[2] Berington, *Literary History of the Middle Ages*, p. 324.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 325.

[4] Poole, *Ecclesiastical Architecture of England*, p. 44.

[5] *Ordinnances relatives aux Metiers de Paris*, cxii., p. 373, Depping ed., 1837. At the period designated, a *sou* was, according to Lacroix, *Les Moeurs et Usages*, p. 91, equivalent to twenty francs.

period, viz., in the year 1267, when Niccola Pisano labored as a master stonecutter on the cathedral at Sienna, he received for his day's wages eight Pison solidi.[1]

In the year 1293, each master builder who worked in a lodge erected near the cathedral in process of construction at Orvieto, according to a document cited by Marchese,[2] was paid the sum of two solidi for his work. It does not, however, appear from the early German or English Masonic records, what rate of wages was fixed for the masons, unless the statement made in the Lansdowne MSS.,[3] that Saint Alban gave the fraternity three shillings and sixpence a week, be understood to signify that during the year 1560, when, it is alleged, the manuscript was drawn up, this was accepted as regular pay. It is, perhaps, reasonable to assume that, prior to the year mentioned, these wages were fixed rates at the time a document of an earlier date had been written, from which the MSS. quoted was transcribed. At all events, neither the Halliwell MSS. nor that discovered by Cooke — both more ancient — specifies a sum which was ordered by Saint Alban to be the future schedule of compensation.

At the close of the fifteenth or opening of the sixteenth century, an English master mason received for two days' labor, sixteen pence, and two shillings for a period of four days' work.[4] It is not unlikely that a pay-table, in early times, was established between the Master and his lodge members, independent of local legislation; and after such rate had been agreed upon, neither the master nor his workmen were at liberty to change it. In the ordinance of 1462, the principle is recognized in the most unequivocal terms. The master is expressly forbidden to vary or dimin-

[1] Marchese, *Vie dei Architetti Pittori*, Tomo I., p. 90.

[2] I capi scultori avevano poco più di sei soldi il giorno, i garzoni (Fellows) due. Marchese, *Ibid.*, p. 90, note (2).

[3] See Hughan, *Old Masonic Charges*, p. 33.

[4] Poole, *Ecclesiastical Architecture*, p. 362.

ish the daily stipend.[1] As previously stated in the preceding part of this work, the increasing demands and exclusive assumptions of the English Freemasons, who, about the year 1424, refused to accept wages as prescribed by law, caused the statute hitherto cited to be passed, which modified the operative nature of the guild.

In the year 1610, the following wages, apportioned by the justices, were made binding upon the Freemasons:[2]

	With Meat.	Without Meat.
A freemason who can draw his own plans	8 *d.*	12 *d.*
A rough mason who can take charge of others	5 "	10 "
A bricklayer	4 "	8 "
" " apprentice	3 "	7 "

Subsequently it was enacted that they should be paid in accordance with the subjoined schedule:[3]

	With Meat and Drink.	Without.
A freemason	6 *d.*	1 *s.* 4 *d.*
A master brickmason	6 "	1 " 0 "
Servants and apprentices over 18 years	4 "	0 " 8 "

In the year 1684, the Freemasons were obliged to take one shilling and four pence *per diem*, and the penalty attached to accepting more was an imprisonment for twenty-one days.[4] The operatives' wages were usually paid them each day at sunset,[5] in the lodge, by the Pallirer or Warden, although the phraseology used in the Lansdowne

[1] Kein meister sol den lohn absprechen oder geringer machen. Art. 9. Kloss, *Die Freimaurerei in ihrer wahren Bedeutung*, pp. 115, 116.

[2] 36 Charles II. [3] *Archæologia*, Vol. XI., p. 203.

[4] *Ibid.*, Vol. XI., p. 208.

[5] *Biograph. Brit.*, Vol. X., p. 590; Findel, *Geschichte der Freimaurerei*, p. 83. This custom was evidently transmitted to the mediæval Masons by their Byzantine predecessors. At the building of Saint Sophia, under Justinian, the workmen were paid each evening. Gibbon, *Hist. of the Decl. and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Vol. IV., p. 86. This is a very noteworthy coincidence, and an additional attestation by undisputed history of the antiquity of many old Masonic formularies.

MSS.,[1] seems to be susceptible of an interpretation that such payment was made at the close of the week.

From the importance attached to the duties of a Warden, or Pallirer, and the solemnity with which he was invested with his official authority, I am inclined to the opinion that, by the Master's direction, he was the custodian of the lodge membership roll, and perhaps combined the powers of a secretary[2] and disbursing treasurer, by preparing a pay-list for the workmen, and, in the prosecution of the prerogatives incident to his station, paid the craftsmen their wages at close of day, which, during the Middle Ages, was at sunset.

Of all the relations which existed among the mediæval craftsmen, that relation of the Master to the members of his lodge was unqualifiedly the most important. These lodges, created originally for convenience of operatives employed upon buildings in process of construction, were under the jurisdiction of an officer denominated as Master, who, not only in all matters appertaining to the technicalities and outlines of art, was the arbiter, but, in the decision of everything affecting the morals of his lodge and its members, was absolute.[3] He was the trusted custodian of all plans and diagrams, in accordance with which buildings were erected. It was his duty and privilege to select workmen necessary to execute details, and to determine the number of craftsmen required for certain work,[4] and these were guided in their labors by designs drawn out by the Master's hand, as occasion demanded, in the progress of labor, sketched, perhaps, on the smooth surface of a convenient block,—of which many diagrams frequently

[1] "Ii. *s.* and vj. *d.* a week." Hughan, *Masonic Charges*, p. 33.

[2] The guild of St. Leonard, Lynn, established in 1376, had a secretary or clerk, whose duty it was to register members' names, — this office was by no means a common one. Smith, *English Guilds*, p. 50.

[3] Scherr, *Deutsche Cultur*, p. 161; Fallou, *Mysterien der Freimaurer*, p 47.

[4] Scherr, *ut supra*.

found on disjointed stones, loosened from ruined walls, may be taken as examples.[1] As an officer of such transcendent authority, approaching an autocracy, especial care was had to make the proper selection for a Master. It was specifically ordered that no one should be elected to this position unless he had previously given satisfactory proof by his workmanship that he was competent to preserve his employers from loss.[2] And in case a candidate offered himself to the builders who had never assumed the duties of the mastership, he was compelled to procure the avouchal of two tried Masters touching his competency to conduct architectural operations, and thereupon he was installed.[3] But when contracting parties designed the erection of a new and stately edifice, they selected a master, and in order to ascertain his proficiency by the ancient regulations, they were authorized to summon to their aid not less than two nor more than four master builders, who were sworn to declare, upon their solemn oaths, whether the aspirant was sufficiently skilled to be a Master.[4] When patrons of the lodge selected a builder, who had hitherto never acted in that capacity, to carry on a work of importance, in case skilled masters disapproved the choice, and any damage resulted from his inefficiency, neither the Master nor Fellows were obliged to indemnify the patrons.[5] If, under usual circumstances, a Master regularly inducted displayed inability to consummate a contract for labor, according to lodge justice, he was mulcted in twenty-one pounds of wax, in order to redress the injury sustained.

The Master was obligated to rule and regulate the affairs of his lodge in strict harmony with ancient usage, nor was

[1] Paly, *Manual of Gothic Architecture*, p. 218.

[2] *Ordnung der Steinmetzen*, Art. 3. [3] *Ibid.*, Art. 4.

[4] *Ibid.*, Art. 5. This enactment fully coincides with the sworn syndic of masters who passed upon the skill of Fellow-craftsmen aspiring to the position of Master. Lacroix, *Les Moeurs et Usages au Moyen Age*, p. 314.

[5] *Ordinance of* 1462, Art. 5, 6.

he suffered to deviate from the landmarks of Masonry; although the text of the ordinance from which we quote is very obscure,[1] it would seem to bear the interpretation, whenever the law of the land clashed with established Masonic customs, he was at liberty to modify the same in order to accord with legislative enactments.

It was a solemn duty to be just and upright in all secular transactions; neither should he injure a Warden or Fellow, nor oppress him by weight of authority.[2] This regulation has descended to the present time, and a Master of a lodge of Freemasons is impressively warned to divest his decisions and conduct of every appearance of haughty pride or tyranny. Another important point touching guild government, was also carefully insisted upon.

By the eleventh article of this valuable document, every Master should preserve his lodge free from discord; and, what is of greater significance for purposes of deeper research, it was expressly enjoined that a lodge should be as sacred as a court of justice.[3] He was not allowed to introduce into his lodge a lewd woman, and if it happened that a craftsman had aught to say to her, he must go as far from the lodge as a stroke-hammer or mallet could be hurled.[4] This latter clause of the article cited, contains the substance of a custom hoary with age, which had come down directly and without change from the twilight of Teutonic civilization to the fifteenth century. I shall treat of this subject at length in connection with the emblem of the Master's gavel or mallet.

In order that his lodge might typify sanctity and purity,

[1] Aber ein Itzlicher soll sein zeyt halden nach alt herkomen gewonheit des landes. *Ordinance of* 1462, Art. 8.

[2] *Ibid.*, Art. 9.

[3] Ein Itzlicher Meister soll seine Hütten frey halten als das darinne kein Zweytracht geschehe, und soll die Hütten also frey halten als ein gerichtsstadt. *Ibid.*, Art. 11.

[4] Als man mocht gewerffen mit einem scholhamer von der werckstatt. *Ibid.*, Art. 13.

the Master was forbidden to falsify or commit an equivocal action.[1] When strange Masters entered a lodge, they were forced to pay for such admission, each time, five pounds of wax. The Fellows, however, were not compelled to indemnify the Master for such breach of Masonic etiquette, but were expected to withdraw and forbid other craftsmen to obey intruders until purged from dereliction. If this officer committed theft, or defrauded a lodge, to the injury of any member, he was forthwith expelled the fraternity, and was, thenceforth, Masonically dead.[2]

A severe caution was impressed upon Masters against instituting suit before civil tribunals, or causing it to be done, where a brother Mason was defendant; neither was it permitted to injure or slander their members,—all such were promptly excluded from fraternal association.[3] Any Pallirer or Fellow-craft convicted of offering bribes or presents to his superior officer, in order to be more rapidly advanced, forfeited his wages and was subject to dismissal on Saturday night ensuing.[4] Neither could the Master confer the grade of Fellow upon an apprentice to the trade, before he had properly won and deserved such advancement, because, according to the emphatic expression of this venerable record, there shall be no power conceded a Master to shorten such term of service by one week.[5]

Another official position still recognized by the frater-

[1] *Ordnung* 1462, Art. 12. [2] *Ibid.*, Art. 16.

[3] *Ibid.*, Art. 17. No regulation was more carefully adhered to than the one above noted. In England, nearly all returns made by craft guilds of the year 1389, or earlier, contain an explicit direction how personal difficulties should be adjusted by arbitration and award; in no case was a member allowed an action at law under penalty of expulsion from the guild. Toulman Smith, *English Guilds*, p. 4; Krause, *Die Drei ældesten Kunsturkunden*, Bd. II., Abt. 2, p. 278. Wilda affirms the same custom among the Germans, *Das Gilden Wesen im Mittelalter*, p. 338. The English Masonic rules permitted the parties to go to common law only when no settlement could be had by arbitration. Vide Hughan, *Old Masonic Charges*, p. 35.

[4] *Ordnung der Steinmetzen zu Torgau*, 1462, Art. 20.

[5] Das steht dem meyster eine woche nicht zuvor. *Ibid.*, Art. 22.

nity of Freemasons, ascends to a high antiquity, viz., that of treasurer. Each lodge selected a Fellow-craftsman to administer the finances. This station was filled by an appointment of the Master weekly. It was a part of the duties incident to the office, to keep an accurate account of all receipts and expenditures. The treasurer evidently collected all fines and dues, the first of which were, no doubt, numerous. After his term of office expired, upon transferring the accounts to his successor, he was obliged to state the amount of treasure which he had received, and hand that over also in the money-box.[1]

It appears to have been at the Master's option whether labor in lodge should be suspended during vesper service.[2]

The authority of a Master was admitted to extend so far as to select a Pallirer from the apprentices whose term was yet unexpired, provided no damage would be inflicted upon the patrons during the process of construction by such choice. This usage is not inconsistent with the view which has been previously urged as the status of apprentices; and, presuming that they were thoroughly instructed in art knowledge, it is probable that, after the lapse of several years, an operative of this degree could be found among the artificers perfectly qualified to assume the duties of a Warden. From this standpoint it is equally clear that chances for preferment were occasionally opened to apprentices, and not entirely limited to Fellows, and consequently, if an apprentice were eligible to a Pallirer's station during his term of service, it is not to be supposed that his apprenticeship obliged him to remain a silent spectator of an active profession, or to be confined to bare rudiments of architecture or plastic art. Moreover, under emergent circumstances, one of the few distinguishing privileges between him and a Fellow-craftsman was removed—the possession of a mark, which he was entitled

[1] *Ordnung* 1462, Art. 23.

[2] *Ibid.*, Art. 24.

to receive, although the term of years for which he was indentured still continued. If it be, therefore, conceded that he became the custodian of a mark, as an Entered Apprentice, he was at liberty to travel, and to do this it was absolutely necessary that he should have sufficient information to prove his claim to enter strange lodges.

As before noted, it seems conclusive that the important distinction between these humbler artisans and their Fellows rested mainly upon the presumption that the latter, in attaining to the degree of Craftsman, was invested with the mystic key which unlocked the symbols of construction, and endowed him with secret appliances by which he could combine the disjointed fragments of his skill into a homogeneous whole. A Master was earnestly enjoined not to underrate the work of another, nor act unjustly towards the brethren contrary to the spirit of the law.[1] No one should be assisted by him officially who evinced a roguish disposition, or was an impostor in word or action; and in case the persons in question betrayed a brutish character, the Master was empowered to dispose of them as with delinquent Fellows.[2]

Whenever a Master, in private business, borrowed money, and failed to refund the loan upon request, he was held to be degraded, and adjudged refractory, which usually entailed a loss of mastership.[3] In cases of this nature the creditor might proceed to have the matter investigated upon charges or complaint, and the Master, or Pallirer, neglecting, within a stated period, to liquidate his debt, was immediately declared guilty of unmasonic conduct, and thenceforth debarred from fraternal intercourse or assistance.[4]

[1] *Ordnung vom Y.* 1462, Art. 32; Kloss, *Die Freimaurerei in ihrer wahren Bedeutung*, p. 122.

[2] *Ordnung, ut supra*, Art. 33.

[3] The consequences of this were serious, and effectually severed his connection from the craft. See Wilda, *Das Gilden Wesen im Mittelalter*, p. 336; and Lacroix, *Les Moeurs et Usages au Moyen Age*, p. 317.

[4] *Ordnung der Steinmetzen zu Torgau*, Art. 34.

Masters were rigidly forbidden to defraud or supplant each other in their work;[1] if, however, the builder deserted or abandoned his labor in favor of another, in such case it was considered a subrogation without fraud; but all relinquishment of lodge work, in defiance of ordinances or accepted landmarks, subjected the Master to expulsion from the craft by his associate builders.[2]

The section cited in the margin, and taken from the Torgau enactment, opens a question touching the number of master architects presiding over lodges erected in the vicinity of sacred edifices in the process of construction. The inference is clear and direct, from the articles quoted, that each cathedral, or other large structure, during the Middle Ages, was surrounded by several lodges of Masons, over which a separate and independent Master and Pallirer possessed an undisputed and exclusive jurisdiction. Documentary evidence of this position is furnished by Marchese,[3] who states that Fra Guglielmo Pisano worked in a lodge of stonecutters and sculptors,—assuming that other lodges were regularly organized around the minster. The general import of the regulations of 1254 also warrants this conclusion.

It was well established by immemorial custom, if one Master vilified or injured another by word or act, which,

[1] Halliwell MSS., 17 A1, Art. 10. In this the English manuscripts agree with the German regulations. Kloss, *Die Freimaurerei in ihrer wahren Bedeutung*, p. 122.

[2] *Ordnung, ut supra*, Art. 35. The phraseology used is as follows: "So sollen In die anderen meister verwerffen." In all cases wherein a Master was put to his proofs, it was an absolute necessity that two other Masters should be present. When complaint was made that such officer had transgressed his obligations to the craft, according to Fallou, *Mysterien der Freimaurer*, p. 47, a sort of Deputy General or Grand Master, designated ein Zirkelmeister, summoned two Masters of lodges to adjudicate upon the grievances charged. See Krause, *Die Drei ältesten Kunsturkunden*, Bd. II., Ab. 2, pp. 280-281.

[3] *Vie dei Pittori e Architetti*, Tomo I., p. 90: Loggi destinata agli scultori e agli scarpellini.

upon investigation, proved to be unwarranted, he was forthwith expelled the fraternity.[1] And whenever his incompetency to continue or complete a work on which he was engaged, manifested itself, and outside assistance became essential to terminate the contract, this was sufficient cause for dismissal.[2]

A Mastership carried with it almost unlimited powers as incident to the station; and it was in strict harmony with prerogative to withhold advancement or assistance from members or brethren of the lodges whose private lives were not above reproach. The Master was at liberty to refuse the customary craft privileges to a Fellow who belied or assailed the character of his brother, or who associated with public women, and addressed improper language to the maidens at taverns, or in the house where he happened to be, or otherwise deported himself indecently. A craftsman failing to attend confessional should be discharged, and branded as an evil-doer.[3] Other duties devolved on the Master upon his accession to office, and, in addition to those noted, he had the authority of petty justice in the lodge.

[1] It will be understood, before such penalty could be enforced, it was indispensable that judgment should have been rendered by two Masters, in conjunction with the District Deputy, making three in all.

[2] *Ordnung. cit.*, Art. 37. [3] *Ibid.*, Art. 38.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Relative Duties of Masonic Craftsmen — Shall be Upright and True to each Other — Must Respect the Romish Church — Not Compelled to be Affiliated — Certificate of Membership — Contracts Terminate on St. John's Day — Dangerous Weapons Excluded from Lodge — Slander Forbidden — General or Grand Master — Master of the Work? — None to Leave Lodge without Permission — Sick Brethren Assisted.

THE old Torgau ordinances contain many minute regulations for the general and specific conduct of the Fellows, which clearly illustrate the source whence were drawn those powers still recognized to be inherent in organized bodies of modern Freemasons. A craftsman who slandered a brother Mason with contumelious words while in lodge, was compelled to make satisfaction by a fine of twelve kreutzers.[1] The members were carefully enjoined against the introduction of disreputable women into their lodges or workshops, nor should they produce such characters before a convocation of Masters, under a penalty of four pounds of wax.[2] If an operative labored on days regarded as sacred, especially if it were deemed his duty to attend prayers, he was placed under the ban of ecclesiastical censure, and, as a punishment, forfeited his right to receive further Masonic instruction from the Master.

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[1] *Ordnung der Steinmetzen, cit.*, Art. 70.

[2] *Ibid.*, Art. 82.

The old adage, that "he who works not shall not eat," was strikingly exemplified among the mediæval Masons, because, by the ancient rule,[1] a stonecutter absenting himself, without leave, from labor in the lodge, after breakfast, was allowed no wages for that part of the day; and in case of absence during the entire hours of work, although he appeared at the sunset roll-call, and before the evening meal, his wages for that day were refused.

According to a charter[2] granting the weavers[3] at Etampes, in France, certain immunities, among other concessions it was agreed that the guild should have authority to regulate the duration of daily labor, and for this purpose an enactment required that this class of artisans should commence and quit work at regular stated hours. This harmonizes with the article cited, refusing compensation to indolent or negligent craftsmen, and an additional attestation that, in conformity to usual custom, a specific time was fixed for operative stonemasons to begin and close their daily avocation.

Whatever may have been the underlying and modifying religious principles of a mediæval lodge, there can be no controversy upon the assumption that, so far as external appearances went, each member was compelled to show his subjection to the established church, and to adhere to its usages. It is a noticeable fact, that it devolved upon the Master to excuse the delinquency of his craftsman in failing to respect the craft ordinances which regulated this phase of fraternal association, and any Fellow remaining away from high mass on Sunday, or other great festival days, without leave, was required to redress such negligence by a payment of four kreutzers for divine service.[4]

[1] *Ibid.*, Art. 84.

[2] Guizot, *Histoire de la Civilization en France*, Tome IV., p. 331.

[3] There was a very old guild of this trade established in Florence, which seems to have had like powers. Depping, *Histoire du Commerce au Moyen Age*, Tome I., p. 227; also, Tome II., p. 324.

[4] *Ordnung vom Y.* 1462, Art. 85. It is absolutely impossible to conceive

No Fellow-craftsman was compelled to continue his membership in a designated lodge of Masons, longer than his convenience or profit demanded; he could at any moment withdraw from his assembled brethren, and the edifice on which they were employed, in order to travel elsewhere, with the permission of his Master, and it was specifically regulated that such severance might be at night or evening when wages were paid; but no operative, applying to the Master for his demission, should obtain it unless he parted without anger towards the officers, and freed from fraternal obligations which precluded departure.[1] He was also entitled to demand and receive a certificate of membership, so that his travelling and acceptance among strange brethren might be facilitated.[2]

All contracts for labor entered into by the Fellows with a Master for winter service should not terminate until Saint John's day ensuing, at which time, however, if ill feelings threatened to destroy that thorough peace and harmony among the craft which were essential to healthy trade, he was at liberty to go. If a companion Mason became at any time cognizant of aught dishonorable to his Master, and failed to divulge it, during winter and

that the Freemasons of the Middle Ages were untinctured by the Romish church. No doubt, the appliances and symbols of lodge ritual were used without hindrance from the ecclesiastics, but, so far as religious influence and clerical authority were concerned, this guild of artificers was subjected to church discipline. In many countries, fraternities were perpetuated solely depending upon mediæval Christian ideas, as, for instance, saying masses for the souls of deceased brethren, Smith, *English Guilds*, p. 74, or to provide lights for church altars, Wilda, *Das Gilden Wesen*, p. 346.

[1] *Ordinance, ut supra*, Art. 87, 88.

[2] This was a practice common to many guilds. These certificates were usually prepared by the clerk or secretary, and signed by the Master and Wardens, and attested by the communal seal. Wilda, *op. cit.*, p. 119. So late as the year 1801, such testimonials of membership were expected to be produced by visitors to French lodges. *Regulateur du Maçon*, p. 18 (grade d'Apprenti). See, further, Fallou, *Die Mysterien der Freimaurer*, p. 121, and Kloss, *Die Freimaurerei in ihrer wahren Bedeutung*, pp. 71–73.

summer, he was branded as a faithless and unworthy brother.[1] All members were forbidden to work with a craftsman who had procured work by bribing a Pallirer or Master; nor could a Fellow-craft render aid to another for money, but the person receiving the assistance might donate him a trifling gift as a mark of appreciation. In every respect lodge regulations must be enforced, to secure steady and uninterrupted progress of building operations, and no craftsman was tolerated who opposed the Master or Warden's orders.[2]

Reference has been made to the duty of these officers, to maintain harmony among the operatives while at work in lodge. In accordance with this idea, all useless and dangerous implements were rigidly excluded, or, if admitted at all, should conform to specified rules. This regulation alone furnishes a valuable appendix to the history of morals and customs of the Middle Ages. It was enacted that no companion Mason should carry a knife, or other weapon, over half an ell in length, with him into the lodge, nor wear the same at banquets. This will afford satisfactory evidence of the restrictive morality of mediæval Masons. If, however, the implements were longer than the prescribed measurement, he was compelled to pay a penalty of seven kreutzers, and divest himself of it at once.[3]

The essential characteristic of lodge government, peace and quiet, is well represented in the rigid exclusion of all

[1] Bey dem soll kein gesell stehen. *Ordnung, cit.*, 1462, Art. 89.

[2] It was obligatory upon the fraternity to inform the officers of all things affecting their characters, or that of the work. Plot, *Natural History of Staffordshire*, § 85–8. Like rule among secular guilds. Smith, *English Guilds*, p. 317.

[3] Do soll kein gesell messer oder andere were bey Im trogen in werkstatten oder in Zechen, den ein messer der halben ellen long sey, was es länger ist so soll er vii. kr. geben zu pusse und ist gleichwol ablegen. *Ord., cit.*, Art. 93; Stieglitz, *Ueber die Kirche zu Rochlitz*, p. 48.

weapons that might disturb the uniform harmony necessary to good workmanship.[1]

The old German constitutions agree with the English charges in a decided prohibition to the Fellows from backbiting their Masters or Wardens, and under all circumstances it was the duty of a craftsman to reveal that which jeopardized his superior's honor.[2]

A curious insight into the practical operations of lodge work during the presiding officer's absence, is afforded by the Torgau ordinance. The craft were enjoined against slandering or speaking evil of the master superintending the edifice; but in case both Master and Pallirer were absent, the Fellows should cheerfully obey his directions. From this clause it would seem that every important work had the supervisory attention of a Master of more enlarged powers, and who had undisputed control of the fraternity whenever the regular officers were not present, but the nature of his functions does not clearly appear. "Baumeister" is the word designating such person, and corre-

[1] This element was an integral portion of the internal structure of all guilds, but especially that of Freemasons or *Steinmetzen*. *Frith-borh* was an association organized at an early period of Saxon government, upon the basis of peace and harmony. Lucy Toulman Smith, *Preface to English Guilds*, p. xxi. Already, in Anglo-Saxon times, such corporations are mentioned in and around Canterbury. Turner, *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, Vol. II., p. 107. According to a citation by Wilda, *Das Gilden Wesen des Mittelalters*, p. 245, from Wilkins, *Legg. Angl.-Sax.*, p. 67, the spirit and purpose of these guilds were the maintenance of peace and concord among the members, and also to protect each other by mutual friendships which involved mutual enmities: "on annen freondscype oththe feondscipe." Particular care was taken that no unseemly quarrels should interfere with social enjoyment at banquets held after the performance of initiatory rites. Fallou, *Mysterien der Freimaurer*, p. 60.

[2] Under the English regulations, the apprentice was sworn to be true to his Master in all things. Harl. MSS., No. 2054, charge 1; Halliwell MSS., Pars. 14. The York manuscript directs that: "ye shall be true to ye Lord or Master yu serve, and truly see his pfitt and advantage." Vide Hughan, *Old Masonic Charges*, p. 36, *et seq.; Ordinance of* 1462, Art. 95.

sponds to an architect.[1] It is by no means improbable, that this artist may have possessed a general superintendence of the work as applied to construction of buildings ; for instance, to see that material, when wrought out in the various lodges surrounding the edifice, was adjusted in conformity to architectural plans. When it is considered that operative Masons labored in lodges under the direction of a Master or Warden, who was necessarily entrusted with a critical scrutiny of each fragment of material, and expected to give suitable instruction touching its artistic preparation, sound judgment would seem to dictate that the structure itself would require the superintendence of a general architect, deeply skilled in the traditions of Masonic government, and equally accomplished in abstruse geometric problems, who could quickly determine questions, in conjunction with two other builders, affecting a Master's prerogative, and also be able to properly adjust elegantly-wrought stones according to architectural diagrams. But this supervising artist under no other circumstances than those noted, came directly in contact with the craft; on the contrary, it was ordered, whenever the Master or Pallirer was present and governing his lodge, that all communications and complaints, or demands for assistance from the workmen, should be made to either of the foregoing officers.[2] Stieglitz has adopted a system of numbering the articles of the Torgau ordinance which renders unintelligible an important fact. For example, in the first clause of No. 96, the Master and Warden being absent, lodge details devolved upon the Baumeister, or General Master; while in section 97 of the edition noted, the following regulation occurs, which, taken separately, is obscure and meaningless: "No Fellow shall enter a com-

[1] "Baumeister" was freely used during the early Middle Ages to signify both an architect or building master, and an officer who took precedence in many fraternities. Wilda, *ut supra*, pp. 214–216; vide *Ordnung* 1462, Art. 96.

[2] *Ordnung, cit.*, 1462, Art. 96.

plaint to the architect (Baumeister) against another craftsman, but such charge shall be made to the master of the work (Werkmeister)." We shall hereafter explain, when a Master's judicial prerogatives are examined, that all cases of accusation arising among the fraternity must be adjudicated by him. Here, therefore, seems to be a collision of authority between the Master of a lodge and a master of the work. When, however, the sections under discussion are collated and read together in a connected form, the idea intended to be conveyed, is: in case both Master and Warden were absent, and a just cause of accusation made it imperative that the matter should be immediately investigated, the Fellow aggrieved was obliged to prefer his charge, not to the Baumeister or architect, but to the master of the work (Werkmeister). The same intention manifests in an injunction against the Baumeister attempting to settle difficulties among the craft, of a less grave character, in the absence of their officers, who were to adjust all such inharmonious clashing upon resuming the lodge mallet or gavel.[1]

A question now confronts us touching the Werkmeister, or workmaster, and what was his position in this craft guild toward subordinate Masters, and what were the duties and powers appurtenant to his station? To this the answer is by no means an easy one, inasmuch as it is barely inferable that the Werkmeister stood to the fraternity of builders an acknowledged local Grand Master, having jurisdiction over the several lodges of Masons at work upon large edifices; although the authority which he seems to have wielded makes it credible that he was endowed with higher powers than those of a "Bauherr," Baumeister, or architect, or the Master of a lodge. From the palpable signification conveyed by the ordinance constituting Masonic tribunals, it is clear that the Werk-

[1] *Ordnung, cit.*, Art. 98.

meister possessed prerogatives usually attributed to a Grand Master. It will be seen, presently, that all troubles demanding an adjustment between Masters of various lodges were, in the first instance, submitted to him by the Bauherr, architect; but whether he had the recognized authority, conceded by enactment or immemorial usage, to proceed at once to decide such difficulties, does not clearly appear, although it is presumable that such was his power. As previously urged, when the lodge officers were detained elsewhere, and any grievance arose among the Fellows, the injured parties were forbidden to produce their complaint before the Bauherr, or Baumeister, but were necessitated to bring the same to the Werkmeister's attention.

In this regulation alone, a higher power is recognized, as vested in the person designated, than belonged to either the supervising architect or to Masters of lodges, where the cause of complaint did not arise. No architect was at liberty to use a craftsman for any work, unless with his Master's consent;[1] neither could the Fellows engage in labor, which other operatives were detailed to perform, under the superintendent's orders.

For a craftsman, or Pallirer, to receive wages not his due, secretly, or, as the ordinance rigorously expresses it, "behind the Master's back," was a grave offence, and the Master could immediately punish the misdemeanor, because his authority to regulate and control all matters pertaining to a Fellow's pay was specifically recognized.[2] The ensuing regulation evinces the thoroughly practical nature of the mediæval Masonic lodges. No craftsman should go to the Latrina in company with another, but *seriatim*,[3] in

[1] *Ordnung der Steinmetzen vom Yahre* 1462, Art. 99. [2] *Ibid.*, Art. 102.

[3] Auch soll kein gesell mit dem anderen auff das perfeten gehen sondern einer nach dem andern. *Ibid.*, Art. 103. See Brentano, *History of the Origin and Development of Guilds*, p. cxliv., for some excellent suggestions concerning this constitution.

order "that the lodge might not be wanting in workmen," and in case he found another operative there, he was obliged to produce him in the lodge during such temporary absence, under a fine of two kreutzers.

One peculiar custom touching craft regulations during the hours of labor has descended to our day in its original force. It is usual, at the present time, to permit members, when within the tiled recesses of a lodge, to depart only with the Master's expressed consent. This rule was adopted, with stringency, by the mediæval Freemasons; by the Torgau ordinance, no Fellow was allowed to leave the lodge without permission of his Master.[1] Craftsmen were enjoined against applying their skill to anything not immediately connected with regular lodge work; neither were they allowed to use material for other purposes than those sanctioned by the presiding officers; otherwise, whatever damage was sustained, the Master became responsible,[2] and must make good.

Like all mediæval guilds, whenever a member, through sickness or other circumstances, was unable to support himself, he was entitled to relief from lodge funds, and upon the return of health or fortune, he could be compelled to refund the expenditures.[3]

[1] Kein gesell was machen oder aus der Hütten gehen ane laube des meisters. *Ordnung der Steinmetzen, cit.*, Art. 104.

[2] *Ibid.* "Every Mason shall truly serve the lodge for his pay." Grand Lodge MSS., in Hughan, *Old Masonic Charges*, p. 46.

[3] *Ibid.*, 105. By a regulation of the Garlekhith Guild, London, instituted in 1375, any brother in necessitous circumstances, by old age, poverty, etc., who had been a member of the fraternity for seven years, was to receive 14*d.* a week during "terme of his lyfe, but he be recouvered of his mischief." St. Katherine's Guild allowed 14*d.* weekly to each member who, "throw fur or water, theves or sykness, or any other happes," was unable to assist himself. Smith, *English Guilds*, pp. 5, 6. The statutes of St. Canute, § 25, quoted by Wilda, *Das Gilden Wesen*, p. 123, directed members to watch at the bedside of a sick or infirm brother, and, in case of death, should follow his body to the grave. Loss of goods by fire or shipwreck was indemnified. An integral element of the ancient Icelandic constitution also compensated for such loss

All operative stonemasons were solemnly urged to adhere closely to these rules, so that the profession might not be injured. If, however, grave infractions occurred, whereby losses were incurred, such fines as were assessed for delinquencies went into the corporation treasury.

—a guarantee in the nature of a fire or marine insurance. An association of citizens, not less than twenty,—designated a *Repp*,—upon complaint of a member that he had been injured by the foregoing casualties, assembled and heard the proofs of damage. If the allegations of loss were substantiated, an assessment of six per cent. ad valorem was made on the associate members' property to redress the damage sustained. Dahlmann, *Geschichte von Dänne-mark*, Bd. II., pp. 276–282. Si quis confratorum nostrorum gildae, in de-crepitam aetatem aut paupertatem inciderti, seu in morbum incurabilem, de proprio non habuerit, undè possit sustineri, seu sustentari; relevetur secundùm aestimationem, et dispositionem Aldermanni, etc. Houard, *Traités sur les Coutumes Anglo-Normandes*, Tome II., pp. 467, 487, cap. ix.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Powers Incident to the Master's Position — Prerogative as Supreme Arbiter — Petty Justice Recognized — The Tools of a Rebellious Craftsman Liable to Seizure — Civil Authority Invoked — Masonic Tribunals Imitated after Royal Courts — Jurisdiction of Grand and Subordinate Bodies — Annual Convocations — Masonic Court: how Constituted — Wardens Preside — Penalty for Disclosing Craft Arcana.

IN the numerous articles which have been cited from the ordinance of 1462, a strong moralistic tendency, underlying lodge mechanism, is clearly visible. A constant effort was made to infuse the daily life and vocation of the Masonic fraternity with principles of rectitude towards each other and to all men, so that by carefully acting upon these instructions the moral dignity of the craft should be elevated.

A lodge, during the Middle Ages, possessed the necessary appliances to render this object effective, both through wondrous and venerable symbols, and by means of the stern powers inherent in the Master's station. His position was one of great authority, as previously stated, and in order, satisfactorily, to execute the plans which were to typify the magnitude of divinity and the grandeur of the living God, such prerogatives were conceded, both by tangible written law and by immemorial usage. In the practical operations of lodge work, he was invested with high judicial power to adjust and settle promptly all disputes arising

among the artificers, and the more readily to accomplish this, bailiffs were oftentimes selected to assist the Master.[1]

The ordinance of the year 1254, by royal concession, recognized in the Master of Masons a power of petty justice, including a limited penal authority over the craft, Fellows, and apprentices[2]—subject to revocation by the king. It was specified that a Master's jurisdiction in France should extend merely to expulsion from the society, and to corporeal punishment where no blood was drawn.[3]

The judicial right of *clameur* was conceded him, provided, however, the judgment did not extend to deprivation of property.[4] The Master possessing jurisdiction over the fraternity of stonecutters, could demand an amendment for settlement of each quarrel between the workmen; and in case the craftsman, upon whom devolved the usual payment as a penalty for the transgression, failed to comply, or was recalcitrant, the Master was empowered to suspend him from the trade.[5] If the artificer still maintained his haughty and insubordinate disposition, after having been interdicted from a use of the handicraft, and continued to pursue his usual vocation, as a severer punishment his working tools were seized and retained until satisfaction was made. When a Mason openly defied, and with violence resisted, this levy, the Master was authorized to lodge information with the city provost. This officer then brought the civic forces to execute the Masonic award.[6] Parisian craftsmen, in the year 1254, were fre-

[1] Scherr, *Deutsche Cultur*, p. 161.

[2] Boileau, *Reglemens des Metiers*, cap. xlviii.

[3] Le mestre du mestier a la petite justice . . . . et de bateurs sanz sanc. *Ibid.* See Lacroix, *Les Moeurs et Usages au Moyen Age*, pp. 314–5.

[4] Joustice de clameur hors mise la clameur de propriété. Boileau, *Sur les Métiers de Paris*, cap. 48. For a learned dissertation of powers involved in this *clameur*, see Depping, *Histoire des Expéditions Maritimes des Normands*, p. 427, note xi.

[5] Boileau, *Reglemens des Metiers*, cap. xlviii.

[6] *Ibid., loc. cit.* In nearly every instance the weight of civil authority con-

quently organized into syndics or sworn courts, to determine appraisements of taxation values affixed to craft property.[1]

A few years later, about 1275, Rudolph I., emperor of Germany, conceded the lodges of Strassburg, for the first time apparently, then organized into a grand body, among other privileges, the right of administering to their members such justice as was requisite for good government.

In order that work upon large edifices might proceed uninterruptedly, it was essential that extraordinary authority should be delegated to the Master's discretion, and, as a consequence of this investiture, his lodge was controlled with powers incident to a judge presiding in a court of justice. Order and submission, peace and harmony, were the cohesive elements uniting the fraternity of mediæval builders, and gave solidity and consistency to their architecture, and effectiveness to their plans. As we shall presently see, a lodge in its details presented numerous points of exact similitude with a civil tribunal.

With the powers alluded to, it was not difficult for a Master to restrain diversified individual opinions, and pacify occasional irritations incident to all social intercourse. Little information can be gleaned touching the constituent parts of the stonecutters' courts, from other sources than the Ordinance of 1462. This document furnishes us with a detailed description of their construction.

Two systems of judicature were in vogue among the Masons of the Middle Ages, subsequent, it appears, to the

firmed the official decisions of guilds. See Brentano, *Hist. and Development of Guilds*, p. cxxvi., and Toulman Smith, *English Guilds*, pp. 416–420. Wilda, *Das Gilden Wesen*, p. 318, says no principle of government was better recognized than that which admitted secular penal powers to interfere for the purpose of enforcing guildic judgments, with exemplary punishment. This is most unequivocally conceded by Halliwell's MSS., Royal 17 A1, Punctus 15, as follows:

"The scheref schal come hem sone to,
And putte here bodyes yn deeppe prison," etc.

[1] Boileau, *Reglemens sur les Metiers*, cap. cxii.

time of Erwin Von Steinbach, and may be appropriately distinguished as the greater and lesser.

The smaller tribunal was a court having jurisdiction over petty causes continually arising between Masters, Pallirer (wardens), and members at large. It was presided over by the Master himself, and held within the lodge enclosure. The principles and method which guided decisions were such as had prevailed for long in the Masonic fraternity, and with every indication that the formularies adopted by this court in its ordinary procedure, in accordance with which justice was administered, were descended from a remote antiquity, and of Teutonic origin.

Larger courts possessed final jurisdiction over matters of greater importance, emanating from unsettled disagreements between Masters, in their official relations, and the architects. Charges of this magnitude came properly before the yearly convention, or, to speak with precision, the Grand Lodge, at such time and place as the book of written law, from time to time, designated, and there the allegations of parties concerned were heard and determined.[1] This grand tribunal embodied within its construction elements of a distant epoch, whose original characteristics were modified by the ceaseless changes of a civilization evolved from the Middle Ages. In so far as

[1] Vide Fallou, *Mysterien der Freimaurer*, p. 47. Perhaps, for expediency and in emergent cases, petty charges against a Master were adjudged *instanter*, by two or three Masters of other lodges. This view is adopted by the author cited. Three such officers — including the accused — must be present. Here is, perhaps, the foundation for Past Masters' authority. This office, at least in name, is entitled to the merit of antiquity. In a return made by a guild established in the year 1218, the phraseology "past alderman" is used to designate an officer who passed through that station by service. Smith, *English Guilds*, p. 166. See note (*), p. 324, of the work quoted, where the compiler asserts that a grade of officiary, styled "Past Masters," was clearly recognized by an ordinance of a guild, in the nineteenth year of Edward IV.'s reign.

the smaller courts were regulated, it was prescribed that a Master should exercise usual judicial powers in his lodge over the members, and should administer the law without hatred, the bias of friendship or enmity, but according to the pledges of his solemn oath.[1]

Masters and Fellow-craftsmen had the right to mutually adjust their personal altercations, in order that employers might not accuse them with violating the obligations,[2]— under no circumstances, were the Fellows allowed to call the Master to an account before his lodge. They were privileged to withdraw, and forbid other brethren from yielding obedience to him, until he made satisfactory reparation.[3]

No Fellow-craft possessed the power to chastise an apprentice, but was compelled to lay his grievance before the Master, whereupon that officer was authorized to investigate the alleged delinquency, and if the apprentice were unable to exculpate himself, the Master punished him.[4] Craftsmen were strictly forbidden to constitute themselves judges of personal quarrels, thus ignoring their Master or Pallirer.[5] Neither could a Pallirer, Fellow, nor Apprentice adjudicate upon suitable adjustment of open ruptures between each other; and in case an operative assumed to render a decision, he was required to make amends at the Master's option. The ordinance, as connected with this subject, expressly states that the Master alone, and no other, shall be judge.[6] When, however, an

[1] *Ordnung*, 1462, Art. 39.

[2] *Ibid.*, Art. 44.

[3] Aber die gesellen haben keinen Meister zu bussen. *Ibid.*, Art. 15. This right was also maintained by operatives and members of many guilds. Wilda, *Das Gilden Wesen im Mittelalter*, p. 336.

[4] *Ordnung, cit.*, Art. 78.

[5] *Ibid.*, Art. 80; Kloss, *Die Freimaurerei in ihrer wahren Bedeutung*, p. 144.

[6] Der Meister soll richter sein und niemand anders; *Ordnung, cit.*, 1462, Art. 81. Vide Stieglitz, *Ueber die Kirche der heiligen Kunigunde zu Rochlitz*, p. 41. Judicial powers were an incident to guildic associations in nearly every instance, and for obvious reasons. Wilda, *Das Gilden Wesen*, pp. 16, 17.

accusation, if proven, affected honor and reputation, three other Masters were to be associated with him, and thus organized, they passed sentence.[1]

In conformity to the obligation taken previous to installation as presiding officer of the lodge, that dignitary was necessitated four times[2] each year to propound the question to his craftsmen, whether envy or hatred existed among them, which might prejudice building interests where they were employed. If, upon careful inquiry, the lodge was found not entirely free from these uncharitable feelings, it was a duty devolving on the Mastership to settle the difficulties in a summary manner; and any Fellow refusing obedience to his superior's order was forthwith discharged, so that no discord might interrupt the general peace and harmony of the craft.

The Torgau text[3] seems to warrant the inference that the Master was solemnly sworn to fearlessly wield the authority of his office; or, as the law enjoined, "should do right and let alone what was not right," even though employers or architects were opposed to him. Every quarter-day he propounded the question to patrons and superintendents of the building, whether they knew of a Fellow having failed to faithfully perform his task, or had indulged in trivial amusements detrimental to the interest of the work, or had otherwise conducted himself with impropriety; and such delinquent actions charged having been duly attested, a punishment commensurate with the offence was promptly administered.[4] When an employer, with full knowledge, concealed any overt acts, or refused to make a disclosure to the Master, whatever loss the

[1] *Ordnung, cit.*, Art. 40.

[2] This was a close imitation of the ancient German *Morgenspreche*, perpetuated in England and called "mornspeches," and were quarterly interchanges for mutual benefit. Smith, *English Guilds*, p. 47.

[3] *Ut supra*, Art. 41.

[4] *Ordnung der Steinmetzen vom Yahre* 1462, Art. 42.

edifice sustained in consequence, could not be indemnified. Baumeister — master builders — were allowed no jurisdiction over the craftsmen independent of the lodge Master, as hitherto stated, excepting in the absence of both officers; and any grievances arising in the meanwhile, must be referred to the Master or Pallirer on his return; nor was wrangling or chaffering tolerated touching the troubles, but all discussion should cease, and a dignified silence be observed until the matters were examined into by the proper officer.[1]

Touching the powers inherent or delegated the larger court, the Torgau regulations ordain that the Masters of lodges and others shall be convoked each year, at such place as shall be proclaimed, in accordance with the book of Masonic law, for the purpose of adjusting all unsettled controversies during the past twelve months. These annual convocations[2] assumed the appearance and powers of an appellate tribunal, exercising the authority to hear and decide, although not finally, because an appeal lay thence to the Grand Lodge at Strassburg. All infringements upon old established customs and violations of law, whether by the supervisory architect, Masters, or Fellows, were here adjudicated.[3]

The subject-matter for consideration in this yearly assembly, was mainly composed of accusations by one lodge Master against another; charges affecting the moral and

[1] *Ordnung der Steinmetzen vom Yahre* 1462, Art. 101.

[2] Annual assemblages of Masons, or Grand Lodges, are mentioned in the Halliwell MSS., 17 A1, Art. 2:

> "Every may^st yat ỳs a mason
> Most ben at ye general congregation."

In their construction, these bodies bore a striking analogy to the German grand bodies, which also were composed of Masters and Fellows. *Ibid.*, Articulus 12. Vide *Statute* 3, Hen. VI., cap. 7, an. 1424, where the words "annuels congregations et confederacies," frequently occur.

[3] *Ordnung, cit. sup.*, Art. 43.

Masonic character of the accused; complaint of one Master against a brother Master, that he had supplanted him in his contract labor; and allegations by architects that Masters on large buildings — designated year work — had manifestly proved incompetent.[1]

For the purpose of a more formal trial of the latter allegation, the architect was required to submit his charges in writing, or deliver them orally to the Werkmeister, who certainly corresponds to a Grand Master. Others entitled to a voice in the convention, were selected to assist that officer, and having been duly obligated, proceeded to investigate, according to Masonic usage, the preferred complaint, carefully noted the defendant's excuses or disclaimer, and ultimately rendered a decision upon the merits of the cause.[2] If the accused failed to appear and answer, judgment passed against him, of expulsion from the fraternity, as a worthless craftsman. Whenever emergencies demanded, the authority of a higher tribunal was invoked to finally determine all difficulties not adjustable in the court below.[3]

The form or constitution of this superior court was as follows: the Masters of lodges, by a majority vote, elected a chief justice; the Pallirer or Wardens selected, in conjunction with the Fellows, associate judges.[4] These judicial officers began at once the adjudication of the accusation and defence before them. An oath was apparently taken prior to entering upon the duties of their office, which admonished them to hold the scales of justice with an exact equipoise. In case of disagreement, the entire matter was referred to a deciding judge, who reviewed the testimony adduced by the suitors, and gave judgment upon equitable principles involved in the controversy. No allusion is

[1] *Ordnung der Steinmetzen*, 1462, Art. 43. [2] *Ibid.*, Art. 43.

[3] This is clearly recognizable in the proem to the ordinance quoted. See Stieglitz, *Ueber die Kirche der heiligen Kunigunde zu Rochlitz*, pp. 59, 60.

[4] Denominated "scheffen," or "schöffen." Consult Savigny, *Gesch. d. R. R.*, Vol. I., pp. 197, 198.

made in the ordinance of Torgau to the tribunal of the Grand Lodge at Strassburg, which possessed ultimate appellate power over all subordinate lodges and convocations of Masons in Germany, although this authority seems to be tacitly conceded. To this superior tribunal, therefore, all parties feeling themselves aggrieved by adverse decisions elsewhere, were at liberty to apply for further relief.

That the Strassburg Grand Lodge was recognized as a court of final resort, and as such obtained undoubted recognition from the Germanic craftsmen, is evidenced, among other attestations, by a confirmatory letter issued by Emperor Matthias, in the year 1613, in which more ancient imperial concessions to that effect are cited: "That whenever any one in the order fails to receive justice at the fraternity's hands, he shall appeal to no other tribunal than that at Strassburg, in the Grand Lodge, where the workmaster or Master of the craft, as supreme judge, shall hear the subject matter in dispute, and shall decide the same, conjointly with the Fellows and associate brethren, in strict harmony with ancient craft regulations."[1] As far back as the year 1275, a court of this prerogative was convened in that city, with the chief warden sitting beneath a canopy.[2]

Strenuous efforts were made by the mediæval Masons to preserve the established privilege of judging society affairs within the consecrated precincts of their own petty courts. And whenever a Master or Fellow evinced an insubordinate character, and acted in opposition to lawful direction,

[1] So sollen die doch einander nit weiter dreiben, dann gehn Strassburg uff die Haubthütten, da soll der werkhmeister als ein oberster Richter des Steinwerkhs, die sache anhören undt saembt seinen Gesellen und Mitbrüdern undt handeln darinen nach ordnung unseres Handwerkhs desz im Buch liegt zu Strassburg uff der Hütten. *Ordnung der Steinmetzen, bestätigt vom Kayser Matthias*, 1613.

[2] Brentano, *History of the Origin and Development of Guilds*, p. cxxvi. For antiquity of judicial powers asserted by guilds, see Wilda, *Das Gilden Wesen des Mittelalters*, pp. 16, 17.

it was the custom to present such conduct before municipalities and noblemen,[1] and appeal to them not to harbor or protect the delinquent, but to coöperate in executing Masonic law. This provision of the ordinance seems to have been designed for desperate cases, when a Master or Fellow endeavored to evade the force of lodge legislation, and sought protection from cities and feudatories of the empire. When, however, the affair assumed this form, the persons thus protecting an absconding Mason were solemnly requested to return him to his proper tribunal.[2] A curious intimation is thrown out at the close of the forty-fifth article: whenever a recalcitrant craftsman was shielded by secular authorities from craft punishment, or lodge justice, the fraternity was at liberty to inflict upon the delinquent stonecutter a severer castigation, well defined in the brotherhood of Masons.[3] This refers, in an unequivocal manner, to the oath-bound penalties to which he should be subjected, if apprehended.

Disclosure of the secret mysteries of Freemasonry, during the Middle Ages, was atoned for by terrible reparation.

It is related, upon Masonic tradition, that a citizen of Utrecht, in the year 1099, killed the resident bishop on account of the ecclesiastic having wrung from the civilian's child the secret principles of the craft.[4] We shall presently observe that lodge formularies shared many elements with mediæval courts of justice, and consequently, in emergencies, visited similar penalties upon convicted brethren.

The selection of judges, in the manner above prescribed, was a German custom, venerable with antiquity and of

[1] Perhaps the civil authorities compelled an abjuration of the handicraft. Anderson, *Ancient Constitutions*, p. 34, note (*); likewise, Boileau, *Reglemens sur Metiers*, cap. 48.

[2] *Ordnung der Steinmetzen*, 1462, Art. 45, 46.

[3] So wissen wir wol noch lautte der Ordnunge wie wir darinne halden sollen. *Ibid., loc. cit.*

[4] I give this from Rebold, *Hist. Générale de la Franc Maç.*, but no authority is cited for lateral research.

general usage. A provision of the nature alluded to was essentially necessary, inasmuch as the law of superior force, during those ages and prior thereto, was the only recognized civil authority. According to a Limburg *Chronique*, quoted by Stieglitz,[1] there existed, towards the close of the thirteenth century, no universally accepted conditions for maintaining social peace and harmony, no imperial chamber of justice — not even a *Concordata Germaniæ* — but the strongest boldly appropriated the property of the weak. In order, however, to preserve the appearance of a judicature which would be recognized as a place wherein a semblance of law prevailed, each of the parties interested in adjusting mutual disputations, selected a judge to arbitrate; these, in turn, chose another, who rendered the decision, which was final, and from which no appeal was tolerated. In concluding his judgment, the superior justice used the following formula: "This say I, arbiter in chief, on my honor, to be right and just; and in making up my decision, have inquired diligently of lords, knights, and serfs, and many other good people."[2]

[1] *Ueber die Kirche zu Rochlitz*, p. 43.

[2] Dieses sagen Ich obman bey meinem Ehren, recht sein und haben michs befraget bey Herren, Rittern, und Knechten und bey vielen gutten Leuten. Stieglitz, *Ueber der Kirche zu Rochlitz*, p. 43; Unger, *Die Altdeutsche Gerichtsverfassung*, p. 114. The Germanic constitutions more carefully circumscribed the guild within fraternal jurisdiction than the English charges. In the latter case, the principal limitation was confined to an attempted settlement of troubles by craft interference first, before going to common law. The guilds of Germany generally incorporated in their regulations a power to settle all grades of offences arising within the guild hall, when the crime did not pass beyond "drawing blood." Wilda, *Das Gilden Wesen des Mittelalters*, p. 217. See Boileau, *Reglemens sur Metiers*, cap. xlviii. In many cases criminal jurisdiction was exercised by these corporations: "une juridiction de police et même criminelle sur tous leurs membres." Lacroix, *Les Moeurs et Usages au Moyen Age*, p. 314; Fallou, *Mysterien der Freimaurer*, p. 47. So deeply had this spirit of independent judicial assumption descended in the people of those ages, that love courts were regularly organized, with a full officiary and executive, to decide such cases of broken hearts and wounded sensibilities as came before her majesty, the queen-justice. Lacroix, *ut supra*, pp. 71, 257; Moratin, *Origines del Teatro Español, Discorso Histórico.*

CHAPTER XXV.

CLOSE IDENTITY BETWEEN A LODGE OF MASONS AND GOTHIC COURTS — A SACRED PLACE — PAGAN CUSTOMS UNTOUCHED BY CHRISTIANITY — NORTHERN TRIBUNALS HELD ON HILLS AND IN THE OPEN AIR — CIRCULAR AND QUADRANGULAR IN SHAPE — COURT ENCLOSED BY PALES OR PFAHL — A PALLIRER, PALEMAN, OR WARDEN — OPENING OF BOTH BODIES WITH A COLLOQUY — CONVENED AT SUNRISE, CLOSE AT SUNSET — LUNAR INFLUENCE — FORMAL SYMBOLISM AND ORDER FOR SILENCE — PROCLAMATION OF OBEDIENCE — WHY CANDIDATES OF SERVILE BIRTH ARE EXCLUDED FROM MEDLÆVAL FREEMASONS — TEUTONIC COURTS CLOSE WITH BANQUET.

THAT a lodge of Masons, constituted for regular work, or as a court of investigation, with the Master endowed with high power, presented a close analogy to an early mediæval court, cannot be denied. The place where ancient Teutonic and Norse nations convened their law tribunals, was regarded and vigilantly maintained as sacred, and among the Scandinavians, ceremonies preliminary to the transaction of judicial business were conducted by the priesthood. To this custom many allusions, symbolic or otherwise, prevailing in the later courts of the Middle Ages, and transmitted to our day by the Freemasons, can be traced with reasonable accuracy.

The court precinct was invested with attributes of sanctity and undisturbed peace.[1] Originally, courts were

[1] Dem Gericht wurde heiligkeit und ein besonderer friede beigelegt. Grimm, *Deutsches Rechtes Alterthümer*, p. 745.

held under the broad expanse of heaven, in the open air; and, in the belief of the ancient Germans, according to Tacitus,[1] the places where they were called to administer justice maintained a high degree of holiness. It was there, moreover, that sacerdotal offerings ascended to heathen divinities as an invocation to assist the judges in solving the perplexities of law which they promulged and decided.

Although the Christian religion extinguished the sacrificial fires, the sacred character of the court was left unpolluted. There can be no successful controversy upon the assumption that it was in view of this sanctity and harmony pervading early mediæval tribunals, that a Master was directed to preserve his lodge free from all discord and as pure as a court.[2] According to Grimm,[3] the most usual localities where ancient Gothic tribunals convened, were on high hills or rising ground, and in support of his opinion the learned archæologist has collected a numerous array of authorities.

In Germany, many places still terminate with the word "berg," or eminence, which sufficiently indicate that judges originally assembled there. Mountains were generally invested with holiness, as emanating from Northern divinities, under whose sanction the Teutonic arbiters dispensed justice.[4] Donnersberg, or Thor's Mount,

[1] *Germania*, cap. 9; Maurer, *Geschichte der Markenverfassung*, p. 327. Also, Marches' Courts were opened under a canopy. *Ibid.*, p. 332, etc. In this connection, it may be added that the Masons' court held in Strassburg, in the year 1275, with the chief Warden sitting under a canopy, was an evident imitation of remote Teutonic usages. Brentano, *Hist. Develop. of Guilds*, p. cxxvi.

[2] Soll die Hütten frey halten als ein Gerichtsstadt. *Ordnung der Steinmetzen*, *Y.* 1462, Art. 11. The ordinances of English fraternities subjected all who entered the ale chamber of the guild without leave to a fine. This was evidently imposed in the interest of good morals, and as a safeguard to excesses. Toulman Smith, *English Guilds*, pp. 84, 95, etc. In the regulation above cited, the design to uphold and maintain the sacred character with which the lodge was invested is manifest.

[3] *Deutsches Rechts Alterthümer*, pp. 800–1; Maurer, *op. cit.*, p. 329.

[4] Unger, *Altdeutsche Gerichte*, p. 188.

near Warburg, in Westphalia, was consecrated for this purpose, and the Limburg *Chronique*[1] informs us that courts were opened and held on the Tunner or Downs, upon rising ground. A custom of this kind had apparently obtained in judicial matters among the Celts and Druids.[2]

Valleys also claimed veneration as under the especial safeguard of Norse deities, and courts of law were oftentimes held within their solemn enclosure. One was convened in a sloping dale, on the boundary line between Braunschweig and Mainz. Other examples are frequent where judicial assemblages were opened for the administration of justice in a valley sheltered and encompassed by ascending hills; and this usage was unquestionably continued during the Middle Ages in obedience to religious superstition — a relict of Northern antiquity.[3] As previously urged, early Christian builders erected their church edifices on high hills, in order to retain, with the new doctrines of faith, as many of the popular notions as the evangelical creed would tolerate. Collectively taken, the facts alleged will, perhaps, clearly explain whence the legend still extant among Freemasons drew its original features: that "ancient brethren formerly met on elevated places and in deep valleys."

It was during the Carlovingian age that the law courts were ordered to discontinue their sessions in the open air, and thenceforth to assemble within sheltered enclosures, under the pretext that the wide-spreading branches of the linden tree and perpendicular rock furnished but frail protection for judges and people.[4] Notwithstanding the effort of Charlemagne to crush out, beneath the weight of impe-

[1] Grimm, *Deutsches Rechts Alterthümer*, p. 802.

[2] In the legendary contest of the Wartburg singers, the trial of voices was held on high ground. Wilmar, *Literatur Geschichte*, p. 230.

[3] Grimm, *ut supra*, p. 800. Hills were selected by preference, on account of their sacred associations as burial places for the dead. Simrock, *Deutsche Mythologie*, p. 319.

[4] Baluz., *Capitular, Karol. Mag.*, Tome I., p. 467.

rial power, this form of venerable and popular judicature in the rural districts,[1] these outdoor tribunals still perpetuated a vigorous existence; nor was it until late, or towards the close of the Middle Ages, that they were extinguished.[2]

The earliest form of a court was circular, because the multitude surrounding their judges naturally collected in the outline of a circle. Subsequently this shape gradually changed to an oval, and finally to an oblong square.[3]

It will be remembered that the earliest information which we possess touching the formation of a mediæval lodge of Masons, asserts the brethren assembled around the Master in a semi-circle.[4] Since then a lodge is described to be an oblong square, and this ideal shape appears to have been imitated from, and made to conform to, a court outline. This ultimate change can be satisfactorily attributed to the fact that this circumference was necessarily altered by surrounding obstacles where justices officially convened. For instance, if they met in the streets of a town, the lateral walls pushed the arc of the circle to a straight line; but there was uniformly more than an imaginary boundary to these ancient courts, in order to repress outlying crowds.[5]

Scandinavian antiquities declare this method to have consisted in staking off the circular form, or subsequently the oblong square, with stout hazel twigs, fastened with strong cords.[6] Frequently, the excitement attendant upon an adju-

[1] One was held as late as the year 1688.

[2] Grimm, *Deutsches Rechts Alterthümer*, p. 806.

[3] Frühe kann sich aber auch aus dem ovalen ring ein länglichs viereck gebildet haben. *Ibid.*, p. 809. Maurer, *Markenverfassung*, p. 332.

[4] Hibernian judges arranged their courts in the shape of a half-moon. Moore, *History of Ireland*, Vol. I., p. 42. Der meister des Baues stellte sich in den Osten und die Brüder ordneten sich im Halbkreis um ihn. Findel, *Geschichte der Freimaurerei*, p. 82. See *Biograp. Brit.*, X., art. Wren. At the close of the last century, lodge banquets were drawn up in the form of a semi-circle. *Regulateur du Maçon*, p. 40.

[5] Grimm, *ubi supra*, p. 809.

[6] *Ibid.*; Dahlmann, *Geschichte von Dännemark*, Bd. II., pp. 207, 208; Mallet,

dication of disputes caused so great a pressure from behind, that the cords were broken, although, as Grimm[1] states, the reputation of sanctity accorded to this circumscribed space was of itself sufficient to deter forcible entrance.

In the year 1283, the posts surrounding the allotted place were called "pale" or "palings, *extra septa judicialia, quae teutonice richtpale nuncupantur.*"[2] This word is common to both the Saxon and German languages. In its oldest form it is generic *pal*, and in the modern English *paling*, the original *pal* has been retained, but the Germans have changed it to *pfahl*. These words possessed an identical signification, and meant a post or paling set up to guard against approach from the outside.

There appear to have been two main entrances into the enclosed court-yard, but from what cardinal points is uncertain — perhaps from the south and west. It is very clear, however, that these ingresses were under the charge or guard of two persons, who, in admitting all duly authorized parties, removed the pale, or paling, and it is reasonable to infer that the officers, from the duty they performed, were denominated Pallirer; the original meaning of which was a guardian of the court *pale*, or post.

When the ordinances of the years 1459 and 1462 were committed to writing, this word had obtained the well-defined signification of warden, or one who guards,[3] and in this sense it occurs in the Torgau book of Masonic law. A striking custom existed in opening a mediæval court of justice, which has descended to and is still practised in lodges of Freemasons, and which, in numerous and

Northern Antiquities, p. 291. The cords uniting the stakes were designated *vebönd*, consecrated threads, from *ve*, holy, and *bönd*, cord or bands.

[1] Grimm, *ut supra*, p. 809.

[2] Grimm, *Rechts Alterthümer*, p. 810.

[3] The regulation of 1459 has the word both Parlirer and Palirer. In the sworn transcript of the Torgau ordinance, procured by Stieglitz, it uniformly occurs as Pallirer.

essential particulars, resembles the old Gothic tribunals. I refer to the formal opening of the court with a colloquy. The first question[1] which the justice propounded the associate judges and bailiffs, was whether the court was opened at the right time of day and in the proper place; or, as a manuscript[2] of the year 1440 gives it, whether the year and day, place and time, were correct.[3]

The time within which judicial proceedings were allowed, extended from the rising to the setting of the sun. In imitation of this, the mediæval lodges began work at sunrise and closed at sunset.[4]

An allusion to this custom is still preserved in the formal opening and closing of Masonic labors. Day and sunlight were regarded as essentially holy by the ancient Teutons.

In obedience to a superstition which sanctified all diurnal business, neither the Gothic courts nor lodges of Masons, during the Middle Ages, were opened before the rising of the

[1] Eine solche feierliche Eröffnung des Gerichts durch Fragen an den Frohnboten oder die Schöffen um ein Urtheil darueber: ob es an rechter Zeit, rechter Stätte sei, u. s. w., wie auch die formelle Schliessung des Gerichts erhielt sich so lang das öffentleche mündliche Verfahren stattfand. Schulte, *Reichs- und Rechtsgeschichte*, pp. 356–7; Maurer, *Markenverfassung*, p. 341. A colloquy ensued, in a chapter of ecclesiastics, between the abbott and candidate for the novitate. Fosbroke, *British Monachism*, p. 179.

[2] Ob es an jar und tag weil und zeit sei. Grimm, *Deutsches Rechts Alterthümer*, p. 813.

[3] During this dialogue, it was asked by the presiding justice how many composed such a justiciary, to which the reply was, there should be at least seven. Vide Unger, *Altdeutsche Gerichten*, p. 65.

"Graf: Ich froge dich frone, wie und mit wie viel schöppfen und fryen ich den stul bestizen soll und bekleyden?

"Bot: Ir soll zum myndesten siben freyen der grafschaft by euch sitzen, u. s. w." Thiersch, *Geschichte der Stadt Dortmund*, cited by Winzer, *Die Deutscher Bruderschaften des Mittelalters*, pp. 142–143.

[4] Man versammelte sich früh vor Sonnenaufgang. Abends nach der Arbeit versammelte sich wieder. Findel, *Geschichte der Freimaurerei*, p. 82. Vide *Biograph. Brit.*, X., art. Wren.

sun, but suspended work exactly at sunset.[1] The season for convening early tribunals was, moreover, regulated in strict harmony with religious faith. A like usage evidently prevailed in the periodical meetings of the building fraternity when convened for important deliberations — among these may be mentioned initiatory rites — and is to this day closely adhered to by provincial lodges.

Heathen antiquity yielded due reverence to changes of the moon — a new or full moon was looked upon as especially favorable; *per contra*, that orb, when waning, typified the sinistrous and sombre. Tacitus[2] notes this singular notion as existing in full vigor among the Germans of his age. Civil courts were convoked, by an almost universal usage, on or before the full moon.[3]

The method of opening an ancient Gothic court was symbolized by typical elements, similar in signification to the inauguration of Masonic lodge work. For this purpose the judicial appointments, or furniture, consisted of benches set up with careful formality, and a sword, as an emblem of justice, was invariably suspended.[4]

A shield hung[5] near the judges' seat, and, perhaps, in remote times, may have been affixed to a spear thrust into the ground. Other symbols, such as an iron gauntlet, sword, shears, axe, and a cord, lay exposed upon the bench at the commencement of the court, and remained there

[1] Grimm, *ut supra*, p. 813. Urtheilte musten bei scheinender Sonne werden; das Gericht heiszt Tageding. Simrock, *Deutsche Mythologie*, p. 517.

[2] *Germania*, cap. 11.

[3] Gericht und recht im weichbilde Ottendorf all monat auf den vollen mond. Grimm, *ut supra*, p. 821.

[4] This symbol is still used in German lodges. It is typical of light and the source of light. Schauberg, *Symbolik der Freimaurerei*, Bd. I., p. 36. Von Tyr, dem leuchtend Himmelsgotte, dessen Symbol das Schwert ist mag es an Odin uebertragen sein, dasz er bei Oegirs Bewirthung seine himmlische Halle mit *schwertlicht* beleuchtete. Simrock, *Deutsche Mythologie*, p. 265. The sword, in the lodges of Germany, is before the Master.

[5] Schulte, *Reichs- und Rechtsgeschichte*, p. 357.

until it concluded the session. Upon the close of the tribunal, benches were upended, the emblems of judicial authority removed, and the justice stood up.[1]

At the first ray of sunrise, a signal was given for silence. It was the judge's duty immediately to perform the functions of his office, in exactly the same manner as falls within the authority of a Master of a lodge, by commanding attention and placing the sacred enclosure under the ban of harmony and peace. In this respect, the powers incident to a mediæval court and congregated Masons may be traced to a custom practised by the early Germans, whose priesthood, in such assemblies, enjoined quiet and silence.[2] When perfect stillness had been secured, the chief judge caused proclamation, substantially as follows, to be made: That no one should depart the court without license, nor enter without permission: no one shall move from his place into another's seat without leave from the proper authority, and the discussion of private or other affairs was prohibited, unless permission had been obtained. This order was thrice repeated,[3] but whether it was transmitted through subordinate officers, similar to the practice which prevails in formal lodge

[1] Eröffnet wurde das Gericht durch feurliche Hegung des Rechters, beistehend in der Aufhängung des Symbole (Schild, *Schwert u. degl.*) Aufstellung der Bänke, etc. Geschlossen wird es durch Abnahme der Symbole, Umsturzen der Bänke, Aufstehen des Richters. Schulte, *loc. cit.* Grimm, *Rechts Alterthümer*, pp. 851, 854. When the Alderman or Master of a guild arose, silence must be observed. Smith, *English Guilds*, p. 280. Same effect in a chapter of monks when the abbott stood up. Fosbroke, *British Monachism*, pp. 88, 93.

[2] Silentium per sacerdotes, quibus tum et coercendi jus est imperatur. Tacit., *Germania*, cap. 11; Maurer, *Markenverfassung*, p. 267.

[3] Bann und Fried gebieten das niemand ausgehe, er gehe mit urlaub, niemand ingehe, er gehe mit urlaub, niemand das andern wort spreche sonder urlaub; und *verbieten zum ersten, zum zweiten, zum drittenmal.* Grimm, *Rechts Alterthümer*, p. 853. Prelatial authority was equally extensive in cloister chapters, and a like rule existed touching conversation, departure, etc., without license. Fosbroke, *British Monachism*, p. 88.

openings, or was merely pronounced by the justice, does not appear, although it is fairly inferable that this announcement was published, from varied quarters of the court, by a regular transmission.

It was, moreover, incumbent on the mediæval judges to forbid the use of unkind or irritating phrases, or dishonorable imputations; especially, that no private business should be transacted, and, identical with the sterling injunction of the old Torgau ordinance,[1] he should "compel the right and forbid what was not right."[2] The command to maintain an uninterrupted silence, and preserve judicial peace and harmony, was insisted upon without qualification, in order, as an ancient citation in Grimm[3] avers, that no hindrance shall be allowed to delay the proceedings. The approach to the court enclosure was rigidly restricted to the free-born; no serf or bondman was allowed to come within nine paces of the place where justice was administered.[4]

Probably this venerable usage may explain the secret cause of the prohibition extant during the Middle Ages among operative Masons, against the initiation of any one not free-born.

All applicants for the mysteries of this craft must exhibit unquestioned proofs touching their legitimacy and freedom of birth. It was presumed that slavery or servitude, in its mildest form, rendered a man less good and pure, or that it debased or degraded him, and for this reason he was enjoined from contaminating the hallowed precincts of law courts by his presence. Lodges of Masons likewise jealously guarded their doors against the serf.

[1] Da soll ein Meister *recht* thun und *unrecht* lassen. Art. 41.

[2] *Recht* sollet ihr gebieten und *unrecht* verbieten. Grimm, *ubi supra*, p. 854.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 853.

[4] Blieben die Eingehörigen *neun schritte* von der Hütte stehen. *Ibid.*, p. 854. From the word Hütte (Eng. lodge) it would seem that a mediæval court was frequently designated as a lodge.

To have admitted him, would taint the sacred enclosure, which was held to be as holy and free as a court of justice. Points of identity between lodge operations and mediæval courts are of too frequent occurrence to be merely accidental.

Far back in the distance of a remote antiquity, Teutonic nations closed their judicial terms with a grand drinking bout.[1] Freemasonry early imitated this usage, and banquets largely prevailed among the craftsmen, who, as hitherto narrated, concluded the investiture of degrees upon candidates with toasts drank to the newly-made brother's health, and the prosperity of the fraternity.

It may not be uninteresting to add that all fines collected by order, or judgment of Gothic tribunals from delinquents, were expended for wine and beer — the principal drink in these carousals. On such occasions, by a commendable courtesy, the judges were allowed the preliminary draught, after which the people at large indulged *ad libitum*.[2]

[1] Tacitus, *Germania*, c. 22; Grimm, *Rechts Alterthümer*, p. 869.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 871; Schulte, *Reichs- und Rechtsgeschichte*, p. 356; Maurer, *Geschichte der Markenverfassung*, p. 277. Consult Fallou, *Mysterien der Freimaurer*, pp. 28-36. Banquets were rigidly required at every initiation. *Ibid.*, p. 63. The mode of holding these festivals was regularly digested, with great elaboration, by the *Regulateur du Maçon*, p. 40, *et seq.*

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE MASTER'S MALLET OR GAVEL — ITS ANTIQUITY DERIVED FROM THE SCANDINAVIANS — SYMBOL OF POWER — TYPE OF POSSESSORY RIGHT — HAMMER-CONVENED GERMANIC COURT — AUCTIONEER'S IMPLEMENT — ORIGINATED FROM THOR'S MIOLNER — MALLET USED IN NORTHERN FUNERALS — HAMMER SIGN, OR CROSS — MASTER'S AUTHORITY RESTS ON THE GAVEL — TYPICAL OF DEATH — A MALLET ACTUALLY USED BY THE NORSE TO SLAY THE IMPOTENT — CHARLES MARTEL AND HIS MASONIC CONNECTION — CLAIMED AS A PATRON ON ACCOUNT OF CARRYING A HAMMER.

PERHAPS no lodge appliance or symbol is possessed of such deep and absorbing interest to the craft as the Master's mallet or gavel. Nothing in the entire range of Masonic paraphernalia and formulary can boast of an antiquity so unequivocally remote. At the installation of a Master, he is informed, upon being tendered this implement, that it constitutes the essential element of his authority over the assembled brethren, without which his efforts to preserve order and subordination must be ineffectual. He is further instructed that the gavel is an emblem of power, and the governing instrument of his office. It is also fairly interpreted to be the symbol that inducts or establishes him into the possession of a lodge of Masons.[1]

[1] The gavel or hammer is the gift or symbol of the tenure by which a Master holds his office. It is derived from *gabellum, census, tributum, reditus*, a gift or presentation used in the transfer or conveyance of possession from hand to hand. *Ex saxonice*, gafel. Du Cange, *Gloss. Med. et Inf. Lat., sub voce*,

As an emblem of extraordinary power, the mallet has preserved its typical character during successive ages, and as such has come down to our day.

So early as the year 1462, it was clearly recognized to be a Masonic symbol, whose use regulated and defined territory surrounding a lodge. The ordinance[1] of that date expressly declared that lewd women should remain as far from the sacred enclosure as a hammer could be hurled. This implement was a religious symbol in the Middle Ages, and made use of to establish proprietary rights over land and water. It was accomplished by throwing the mallet at full swing, and all ground traversed was acknowledged as immediately reduced to the person's possession casting the same.[2]

In the fifteenth century, therefore, this custom was practised by the Masonic fraternity, and symbolized proprietorship.

In modern Freemasonry, it still survives as an emblematic pledge of a Master's ownership over his lodge. It is true, the gavel now is no longer hurled in order to limit the outlying territory contiguous to the hallowed precincts, but the *use* of that implement perpetuates the mediæval idea of possession.

The hammer was, in very early ages, used as a signal by which Gothic courts were convened. In districts where judges ordered tribunals to assemble, a mallet was carried around among the inhabitants, who, upon seeing this emblem of judicial authority, instantly collected at the designated place.[3]

Gabellum. See Glossary to Thorpe's edition of Beowulf, *Anglo-Sax. Songs* v. *gifan.*

[1] Hat jemandt mit Ir (unzüchtige fraw) was zu reden, so soll man von der Werckstatt geen, als man möchte gewerffen mit einem Scholhamer, von der Werckstatt. *Ordnung der Steinmetzen*, 1462, Art. 13.

[2] Grimm, *Deutsches Rechts Alterthümer*, p. 64; Simrock, *Deutsche Mythologie*, pp. 277-499. Vide, Maurer, *Geschichte der Markenverfassung*, pp. 161, 162.

[3] Ubrigens war der hammer noch später hin gerichtliches zeichen, durch

The gavel in the hand of the Master of a Masonic lodge, directly alludes to this ancient usage, and when it sounds the decision of a question submitted, that blow is merely the reëcho of a power current many centuries ago, in the administration of justice. The judges of our modern courts of law wield the gavel with a no less emblematic power than a Master of Masons. Grimm[1] says that the hammer-stroke which the auctioneer makes to conclude a sale is derived from the custom referred to. But the mallet, chiefly as a symbol of power, is of the remotest antiquity, which I shall now proceed to trace. In Northern mythology, Thor was always represented with a mallet,[2] called Miölner.[3]

Its origin is as follows: Loki, one of the Norse deities, made a wager with a dwarf that he could not forge certain things which would compare with the mechanical skill of other dwarfs. Certain conditions were agreed upon, and the dwarf began to labor industriously at his forge. A suitable time having elapsed, he took from the fire, among other articles, a hammer, named Miölner.[4] The things forged were produced before three principal gods of Asgard,[5] — Odin, Thor, and Frey, — who were selected as arbiters of their relative value.

After careful test, it was unanimously decided that the hammer was superior to all. This implement possessed

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herumsendung eines hammers pflegte in einigen gegenden der richter die gemeinde zu berufen. Grimm, *Rechts Alterthümer*, p. 65.

[1] *Ibid., loc. cit.*

[2] Thor der nord, donnergott führt einen Hammer von selbst fleigt der geworfen *Miölner* in seiner hand zurück. *Ibid.*, p. 64; Simrock, *Deutsche Mythologie*, p. 232; *Skaldskap*, c. 35.

[3] *Skaldskap*, c. 35; Mallet, *Northern Antiquities*, p. 417; Schauberg, *Symbolik der Freimaurerei*, Bd. I., p. 250.

[4] The bruiser or crusher, from *myla*, *milja*, cognate with the German *mühlen*, to grind, and *muehle*, Eng. *mill*. "Little the Fancy know of the high connections of their phrase mill." Keightly, *Fairy Mythology*, p. 69, note (*).

[5] Abodes of the Norse divinities.

the virtue of striking with unerring certainty any object at which it was thrown, and however severe a blow was struck, no injury ensued to the person wielding the hammer.[1] The Scandinavian divinities at this time were waging a bitter warfare against rebellious frost giants, and hailed the acquisition of Miölner, as a powerful weapon of defence, with unaffected delight. To Thor was given the mallet, a gift of especial applicability, as he was, according to the prose Edda,[2] the strongest of Norse gods ; and when belted with the girdle of prowess—meginjardir—with hammer in hand, he was irresistible. Scaldic songs recite numerous adventures in which Thor manifested Miölner's divine attributes.

On one occasion, by a blow of this all-powerful implement, he shattered into fragments a rocky mountain ; and in a trial of strength, nearly loosed the Medgard serpent, which, in Northern or Teutonic mythology, was delineated as encircling the earth and preserving it intact.[3] Medgard was finally slain by this terrible weapon.[4] In the recovery of his mallet, which lay eight miles beneath Jötunheim's congealed rocks, Thor slew, with a single blow of redoubted Miölner, the giant Thrym and his followers.[5] In the struggle with Hrungir, the mallet's highest symbol of power is set forth. When these gigantic rivals approached, Thor flashed in divine force, represented by the hammer. Hrungir hurled his club at the Asgard god, but the irresistible power of Miölner fell with crushing weight upon his antagonist and killed him.[6]

Thor's mallet was the resistless thunderbolt, emblematically represented by this implement ; hence the deriva-

[1] Thorpe, *Northern Mythology*, Vol. I., p. 39; Simrock, *Deutsche Mythologie*, p. 251.

[2] *Gylfaginning*, 21; Mallet, *Northern Antiquities*, p. 417.

[3] *Gylfaginning*, 47; Mallet, *ut supra*, p. 443. [4] *Gylfaginning*, 48.

[5] *Thrymskvidha edr Hamarsheimt*, cc. 8, 32.

[6] *Skaldskap*, c. 17; also, Thorpe, *Northern Mythology*, Vol. I., p. 71.

tion of thunder, from *Thor*, *Thonar*, *Donnar*. Whenever the god of thunder was not possessed of his terrible weapon, he was not well matched with his opponents. It was the marvellous property of Miölner, after having been launched upon a voyage of destruction, that it invariably returned to its owner. According to the traditions of Scandinavian mythology, when this deity once lost that emblem of power, his anxiety to regain it was extreme.[1] Baldur's funeral pile was consecrated by Thor with the hammer Miölner.[2]

This same symbolical mallet was used in the solemn ceremonies of marriage,[3] and to this day the Finns, in their nuptial rites, strike fire with flint and steel in humble imitation of the terrible thunderbolt.[4] With the hammer the banqueting cups of the ancient Norsemen were rendered auspicious,[5] and, according to Giejer,[6] food and drink were blessed with Thor's hammer-sign. The learned Thorlacius asserts that the stone axes found in the graves of Scandinavian warriors were merely *simulacra armorum*, and that they were designed to typify the resistless power of Thor's hammer, which fell with killing force upon his demon adversaries; or, in other words, they were emblems of the irresistible might attributed to Miölner.[7] Thor's mallet, laid upon the knee of the veiled bride, inaugurated

[1] Thorpe, *Ibid.*, p. 54.

"Wild ward Wing-Thor als er erwachte
Und seinen Hammer vorhanden nicht sah."

Thrymskvidha, Str. 1.

[2] *Gylfaginning*, 49; Thorpe, *ut supra*, p. 75; Grimm, *Deutsche Rechts Alterthümer*, p. 64; Simrock, *Deutsche Mythologie*, p. 227.

[3] Grimm, *loc. cit.*; Simrock, *Ibid.*; *Thrymskvidha*, Str. 30.

[4] Thorpe, *Northern Mythology*, Vol. I., p. 171. There was much formality involved in this custom, performed in the presence of the relatives and parents of the children *fiancées*. Praesentibus amicis et sanguine junctis, parentes per ignem foederant conjungia natorum: et hoc ferro et silice per excusionem. Olaui Magni, *Historia Septentri. Condit*, Lib. IV., cap. vii.

[5] Geijer, *History of Sweden*, Vol. I., p. 33. [6] *Ibid.*

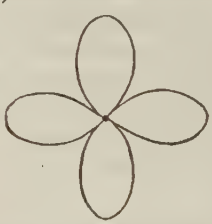
[7] Mallet, *Northern Antiquities*, p. 211.

her into her new destiny,[1] and, as in the case of Baldur, the same symbol consecrated the funebrial timber, on which the lifeless corpse was burned, and with this sign the Norse god restored the dead goats to life.[2]

This deity's mace was symbolized by wedge-shaped pebbles, although the cuneiform figure does not appear to have been exclusive, inasmuch as it sometimes assumes the form of a cross.[3] The hammer is frequently found with an outline similar to a cross *cramponée*, thus:

Numerous specimens of Northern coins were discovered in Denmark, in the year 1835, each of which shows an effigy representing a four-footed horned beast, upon which sits a head, intended evidently for the rider. In front of this bust was the sign of Thor's hammer, Miölner, a cross *cramponée*. Four, of the collection noted, exhibit this symbol, together with the valiant god's name, in Runic characters. The rudest coin of the number displayed no cruciform outline, but contained a four pointed star.

Among the weapons belonging to the stone period found in Denmark, are many flint mallets, cross-shaped, having a hole at the intersection for the haft to to be inserted.



Baring Gould[4] conjectures, that as the

[1] Geijer, *History of Sweden*, Vol. I., p. 31; *Thrymskvidha*, Str. 30. At the close of the eighteenth century, the candidate for Masonic initiation was consecrated into the mysteries with a mallet: "Le V.: frappe légèrement trois coups de maillet sur la tête du compas, etc." *Regulateur du Maçon*, p. 32. The hammer and chisel were both symbolized in the Fellow-craft degree at that period.

[2] *Gylfaginning*, Str. 44. in the younger Edda. Simrock, *Deutsche Mythologie*, p. 234. Thor's hammer. in this connection, has an important Masonic allusion.

[3] Baring Gould, *Curious Myths of the Middle Ages*, p. 86. Still called, by the common people of Denmark and Sweden, Thor's wedges. Geijer, *History of Sweden*, p. 31.

[4] *Curious Myths of the Middle Ages*, pp. 86, 87.

lateral arms of these implements could have served little martial purpose, they were used in consecrating sacrificial offerings in the mystic ceremonies of Thor's worship. One of the Eddaic sagas[1] details an interesting interview between Earl Sigurd and King Hakon, who, it is asserted, was Athelstane's foster son. The earl seized the drinking horn, drank out of it, and returned it to the king, who made the sign of a cross over the goblet. Kaare of Greyting, a spectator to all this, asked why he did thus. Sigurd answered: The king is doing what all of you do who trust in power and strength: he is invoking a blessing upon the horn in Thor's name, by drawing a hammer-sign over it before he drinks.[2]

Early mediæval cloisters possessed a wooden hammer, which was always sounded when a monk was in dying agony, and it was frequently symbolized during the continuation of monastic services.[3] German peasants make the sign of a cross to dispel a thunderstorm, and is, no doubt, used on account of the resemblance to Thor's mallet. Bells, in the European cathedrals, were carefully marked with the cruciform hammer, and were rung during severe storms to avert the mighty thunderbolt.

Such crosses *cramponées* are still visible on the church bells of Appleby, Wadingham, Bishop's Norton, Hather-

[1] *Heimskringla Saga*, IV., c. 18.

[2] "O'er his drinking-horn the sign
He made of the cross divine,
As he drank and muttered his prayers:
But the Berserks evermore
Made the sign of the hammer of Thor,
Over their's." Longfellow, *King Olaf.*

[3] Fosbroke, *British Monachism*, pp. 31, 52–54; also, Du Cange, *Glossa. Med. et Infim. Latinit. sub vocibus Ferula* and *Tabula.* The custom referred to in the text noted is evidently an allusion to the hammer used to slay aged Northmen, who esteemed it a favor to be thus sent to Odin. Relics of similar superstition apparently existed among the ancient Scythians. Plinii, *Hist. Natur.*, Lib. IV., c. 12; Pomponius Mela, *De Situ Orbis*, Lib. III., c. 5.

sage in Derbyshire, and Wexborough in Yorkshire.[1] It would seem that the custom of burying a hammer with the dead was also practised by the ancient Celts.[2] The same peculiar figure, the fylot or cross, was an emblem in the Buddhist religion, and, curiously enough, it appears upon the dress of a fossor, painted by early Christians on the walls of the Roman catacombs.[3]

It clearly appears from the preceding proofs, I think, that the Master's mallet has descended to modern Freemasonry invested with the symbolism of Thor's hammer. As previously stated, this implement, in the hand of the presiding officer of a lodge, is an emblem of authority, without which he is impotent to rule and govern the assembled brethren. This virtue inherent in the gavel is directly derived from the Norse Miölner, which was the highest type of power, and made its possessor irresistible. Thus it is with the Master of a Masonic lodge; grasping his mallet, he is immediately clothed with the symbol of resistless force and power over present emergencies. It is typical of absolutism and authority;[4] when wielded with skill and energy, the Freemason within hearing of its ceaseless shocks humbly bows to the emblem of might, with the same alacrity as the Northern Troll trembled at Thor's hammer. It convenes the lodge of Masons as it convened a mediæval court of justice, by a blow, which indicates that the Master has assumed the symbol of his authority, and calls, by virtue of the gavel, to order and submission. When the Master divests himself of this implement his power is at end, and is unable, without it, to govern the lodge. So when Thor lost his mallet, a portion of divine

[1] Gould, *Curious Myths of the Middle Ages*, p. 89.

[2] *Scottish Gael*, p. 479.

[3] Görling, *Geschichte der Mahlerei*, Bd. I., p. 66.

[4] Modern lodges are required to display a charter, emanating from some recognized grand jurisdiction, for purposes of regularity; but, prior to the year 1717, it is doubtful whether any subordinate body of Masons had warrants, as we now understand them.

strength was gone; being dispossessed of Miölner, that resistless force which made his adversaries tremble was dissipated. We have already noted that in the year 1462 a hammer hurled by a Mason's arm symbolized possession of lodge territory. The gavel wielded now constitutes the Master's possession of the sacred precincts of a lodge. No part of Masonic appurtenances can claim an antiquity so remote nor an origin so clear and indisputable.

In the Northern mythology, Thor's hammer was also an emblem of destructive power, and, as such, typified the instrument of death. The mallet, or setting maul, as a Masonic symbol, is used for like purpose. It was with this weapon that the redoubted god of strength crushed the skull of Hrungnir,[1] and with Miölner he consecrated Baldur's funeral pyre. As already mentioned, the mallet was used by the Scandinavian priesthood to solemnize the burial ceremonies or rites of cremation. From the similarity existing between the Norse deity's weapon as an implement of death, and the craft setting-maul, the line of research leads with undeviating exactness back to an identical origin.

In many countries adhering to the terrible worship of the Northern divinities, for ages a mallet or club, in imitation of Miölner, was found behind the door at each domestic fireside, to be used in slaying the old and infirm.[2] Thus was it doubly rendered typical of death; and equally symbolical has the hammer been transmitted, with its

[1] *Skaldskap*, c. 17.

[2] Geijer, *History of Sweden*, p. 32. Also symbol of resurrection. Simrock, *Deutsche Mythologie*, p. 227. In Germany, a club was usually substituted for Thor's hammer, and, in English churches, was hung up, with evident reference to its bloody uses. The following verse refers to the typical properties of a club, always suspended on the portal of Silesian city-gates:

> Wer seinen Kindern giebt das Brot
> Und leidet dabei selber Noth
> Den schlage man mit dieser Keule todt.
>
> Simrock, *ut supra*, p. 233.

tragical attributes, from the hand of Thor, whose existence is shrouded in the sombreness of legendary gloom, down to modern Freemasonry, where the mysteries of Hiram are celebrated with Miölner's murderous representative—the setting maul. Too numerous are the points of unity presented in the systems — Teutonic and Masonic — for this similitude to be casual; in both, the instrument of death and destruction was made an emblem of mortality, and as such it has descended to our day.

In the legendary history of the English Freemasons, it is asserted that Charles Martel[1] was a patron to the craft, and was himself skilled in geometric science. I have previously stated my reasons for believing that this tradition was brought into England by French craftsmen, at or about the period of the Norman conquest.

In the regulations of 1254, the Parisian stonemasons claimed exemption from watch duty on account of privileges which, they alleged, had descended, as "they had heard say," from father to son. Curiously enough, the Gallic builders candidly avowed this concession rested upon no written document, but was entirely legendary.[2]

The connection of this valiant warrior with the mediæval fraternity can, I think, be satisfactorily explained, and that it is grounded upon a usage immediately derived from Germanic mythology. It will be remembered that the recurring symbol of operative Masons was a mallet, and invested with divine power. Among the Northern nations of Pagan Europe, Thor was deified as the god of battles.[3]

No astonishment should be excited that homage was rendered to a divinity of such transcendent might, especially when it is considered that he was engaged in inces-

[1] See the several Masonic manuscripts cited, and Hughan, *Old Masonic Charges, passim.*

[2] Et tout tailleur de pierre, tres le tans Charles Martel si come li prudhome l'en oï dire de pere à fils. Boileau, *Reglemens des Metiers de Paris*, cap. xlviii.

[3] Tacitus, *Germania*, c. 9; Mallet, *Northern Antiquities*, p. 469.

sant and deadly struggle with frost giants, and other beings who typified evil principles. The semi-christianized Teutonic warrior, amid the din of battle and clash of arms, turned his flashing eyes towards his imaginary deity, as the ancient Goths had done before. Although, during the ninth and tenth centuries, the Northern invaders of France had gradually established themselves on a firm footing in Normandy, the *Romain* language appears to have superseded in a great measure the Norse dialect. Notwithstanding this idiomatic transfusion, numerous superstitions of the Norseman's mythology were still perpetuated.

According to Depping,[1] in the tenth century, the Gallic clergy accorded to the Normans the just commendation that they scarcely preserved the vestige of paganism. Amid all the varying changes of religious creeds, the Norman soldiers rigidly clung to their belief in the efficacy of their ancient war-god. In the fight at Val-des-Dunes, one of the Scandinavians sounded the war-cry of Teutonic antiquity — *Toräie* — that is, Thor, help me! while on the contrary, William the Bastard yelled the Christian invocation, *Dex aië*, or, God! aid me![2] In many cases, these martial chevaliers of Normandy affected for a long time to carry upon their weapons Pagan devices.[3]

The Northern soldier, who made his sacrifices to Thor as the war deity, endeavored to imitate him in the irresisti-

[1] *Expeditions Maritimes des Normands*, p. 357.

[2] Depping, *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*

"Raoul Tesson—
Poinst li cheval criant *turaïe*."

"William crie, *dex äie*,
C'est l'enseigne de Normandie."
Wace, *Roman du Rou*, Tome II., v. 9059.

"Plusors distrient par verité,
Ke un deable aveit privé
Ne sai s'estait lutin u nou
Torret se feseit apeler, etc."
Wace, *Ibid.*, v. 9713.

[3] Quelques-uns même affectèrent longtemps de porter sur leurs armes des devises païennes. Thierry, *Conquête de l'Angleterre par les Normans*, Tome I., p. 172.

bility of divine power, and in order that the attempt might have at least the sanction of resemblance, it was natural that he should invest himself with the god's inimitable weapon.

German priests, in the celebration of the mystic rites of Odin, or other principal divinities of Asgard, wore the symbols of their gods,[1] and this was no doubt a custom uniformly practised by the leaders of Teutonic armies. Grimm[2] conjectures that Charles Martel carried the little hammer in imitation of Miölner, or Thor's mallet. Possessed of this implement, the bold warrior justly presumed that he bore the symbol of a resistless might. It is more in harmony with the origin and transmission, perhaps, of traditional events, to assume that Charles Martel was thus denominated on account of carrying a hammer as the emblem of a battle god — Thor, the German Mars — than, as Depping asserts,[3] by reason of the vigorous blows with which he so successfully hammered his Moslem antagonists. Martell is a diminutive form of the Latin word *malleus*, and signifies a small hammer,[4] implying, in this connection, that it was not so much a war weapon as a symbol of power that the Carlovingian monarch wielded in battle.

It is highly probable that the rapid extension of Christianity, immediately after the decisive victory of Charles Martel at Tours,[5] subsequently modified[6] this emblem, and

[1] Tacitus, *Germania*, c. 7, and *Histor.*, Lib. IV., c. 22; Simrock, *Deutsche Mythologie*, p. 499. Pilgrims, during the Middle Ages, wore certain tokens, called *signacula*, as symbols of martyrs, a custom derived, apparently, from the Norse priesthood. Vide Fosbroke, *British Monachism*, p. 359.

[2] Carl Martell, wie der sonst anders gedeutete beiname zeigt, mag ihn noch geführt haben, sein enkel nicht mehr. *Deutsche Rechts Alterthümer*, p. 64.

[3] Boileau, *Livre des Metiers*, cap. xlviii., note (5), *in loco*.

[4] Hamar, martel; martellus mediocris malleus. Grimm, *Deutsches Rechts alterthümer*, p. 64.

[5] Mariana, *Historia de España*, Tomo I., p. 328.

[6] Substituted by the sword, equally typical of power, or of the mace, whence the name of *mason*. Vide *infra*, chap. xxxvii.

at his death ceased apparently to be used, as too Pagan in its significance. However, popular tradition touching so distinguished a warrior perpetuated his bearing the mallet, and evidently the early corporations of builders in Germany, or Byzantine stonecutters, in clinging to the typical powers attributed to this working tool, claimed and received the favorable consideration of Carlovingian royalty, on the ground that Charles Martel had wielded the hammer endowed with identical symbolism.

It is, at all events, curious that the Gallic builders, in the year 1254, boldly asserted and obtained their right to an exemption from municipal regulations, as having existed from the time of the semi-christianized Frank. The assumption of a remote antiquity, ascending to the age of that monarch, is definite and unequivocal, and thus early in the thirteenth century the Masons of Paris traced their corporate existence to an origin coeval, at least, with the Carlovingian kings.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE THREE SYMBOLIC COLUMNS OF A LODGE — TAKEN FROM NORSE TEMPLE FURNITURE — THEIR PROTOTYPES IN UPSALA — PEDESTALS OF PRINCIPAL DEITIES OF NORTHERN MYTHOLOGY — ODIN, THOR, AND FREY — THESE SIGNIFY WISDOM, STRENGTH, AND BEAUTY — SHIBBOLETH, OR FREY, PRODUCTIVENESS — HER EMBLEM — THREE EMBLEMATIC LIGHTS OF FREEMASONS — THEIR PAGAN ORIGIN AND REFERENCE TO THE DIVINITIES MENTIONED — NORTH, WHY A PLACE OF DARKNESS — EXACT ORIENTATION OF GOTHIC COURT REPRODUCED IN A MASONIC LODGE — EAST, WEST, SOUTH — THE NORTH — STARS IN LODGE DERIVED FROM OPEN-AIR ASSEMBLAGE.

A MODERN Masonic lodge, in its appointments, possesses three symbolic columns — one of which is situate in the east, one in the west, another in the south. They represent the essential elements which constitute the support of the fraternity, and in their idealist allusion are the pillars of the universe. Next to the symbolism of a Master's gavel, perhaps, no lodge appliance is so plainly derived from a Northern source as these columns, severally designated as Wisdom, Strength, and Beauty. Whether the more ancient Scandinavians performed sacred rites before their divinities in enclosed edifices is uncertain; but that they ultimately erected houses of worship for them, is attested by undisputed history.

At the time Adam of Bremen[1] wrote his chronicles on

[1] Vide Geijer, *History of Sweden*, p. 35.

the condition of Denmark, a magnificent temple still existed at Upsala.[1]

In this temple the images of the three principal deities of the North were erected, each represented with an appropriate symbol.[2] Odin held a sword; Thor stood at the left hand of Odin, grasping his mallet, and Frey, at Thor's side, was invested with the emblem of a hermaphrodite, to typify productiveness or plenty.[3]

The Erybygga Saga[4] relates that Thorolf, in migrating to Iceland, carried with him Thor's throne, the image of the mace-bearer, and the wood-work of the temple. Upon approaching the island, the hardy mariner cast the columns of his idol's sanctuary into the sea, and declared his intention of settling wherever the current carried them. Geijer[5] says the father of a family usually surrounded his high seat with pillars, upon which were carved images of the gods. An ordinary Scandinavian temple was a large wooden banqueting hall, with a small recess at one end. In the winter a fire was kindled exactly in the centre of the edifice — the smoke arising from the burning wood found its way out through apertures in the roof. On the south side of the hall, directly opposite the fire, was an elevated seat raised on steps, and flanked by two wooden columns, carved with Runic inscriptions and ornamented with figures of Odinic divinities.[6]

[1] Adam Bremen. *De Situ Daniae*, c. 233.

[2] Quod adeo magnifico apparatu constructum venerabatur, ut nihil in ejus parietibus, laquearis, aut columnis, nisi auro splendidum videretur. Olaus Magnus, *Histor. Septentr. var. Condit.*, Lib. III., cap. vi.

[3] Mallet, *Northern Antiquities*, p. 110; Simrock, *Deutsche Mythologie*, p. 496. According to Olaus Magnus, *ut supra*, p. 99, Thor was represented with a mace in hand and twelve stars surrounding his head. Erat in capite ejus corona et in manu scepterem atque in circuitu duodecim stellæ.

[4] Mallet, *ut supra*, printed verbatim from *Illustrations of Northern Antiquities*, Vol. I., 4th ed., 1814.

[5] *History of Sweden*, p. 31.

[6] Mallet, *Northern Antiquities*, p. 285. It was no unusual thing for guild halls, following their original prototype — temples — to have three grades of

The Saxon Irminsaul appears to have been a sacred column surmounted by an image,[1] and this, Tacitus[2] declares, was sometimes brought out and carried in the van of battle. Whether the deities in the temple of Upsala were placed upon elevated pedestals, does not clearly appear; that pillars were dedicated to the several gods designated, is manifest. Therefore Odin, Thor, and Frey each had a column, upon which an effigy was set, or the pillar was in some manner associated with their worship, and symbolized the divinity.

The word Odin, according to Grimm,[3] signifies the wise or wisdom, and in this view Thorpe,[4] the learned philologist, entirely concurs. The latter traces the derivation to the Brahmin god Budha, which also means the wise.[5] Consequently, the pillar consecrated to Odin became the column of Wisdom.

So far as relates to Thor, one of the three deities mentioned, we have elaborated at length that he was the type of power, and the column to him stands as the column of Strength.

The derivation of Frey is equally satisfactory. Grimm[6] traces this word through the ancient Teutonic dialects, and explains it to signify plenty and beauty.[7] Therefore the

seats in the ascending scale. Wilda, *Das Gilden Wesen des Mittelalters*, p. 216. High seat in guild. Thorpe, *Northern Mythology*, Vol. I., p. 214. Members also have regular seats. Item siquis frater vel sorer presumat capere scannum alterius. Smith, *English Guilds*, p. 218.

[1] Wirth, *Geschichte der Deutschen*, Bd. I., p. 167; Simrock, *Deutsche Mythologie*, p. 262.

[2] Effigies et signa quaedam detracta lucis in proclium ferunt. *Germania*, cap. 7.

[3] *Deutsche Mythologie*, voce, *Odin;* also, Simrock, *ubi supra*, pp. 210, 212.

[4] *Ut supra*, Vol. I., p. 166.

[5] Ibid., *loc. cit.* King, *The Gnostics and their Remains*, p. 18.

[6] *Deutsche Mythologie*, pp. 191, 279.

[7] Thorpe, *Northern Mythology*, Vol. I., pp. 197, 198. Simulachrũ Frigge, tertio loco, *pulchrudinis*, Dea credabatus. Olaus Magnus, *Hist. Sept. var. Cond.*, Lib. III., c. vi.

pillar of this goddess became the column of Beauty, or plenteousness. These three divinities were the typical supports of the universe—Wisdom, Strength, and Beauty;[1] and the columns still existing in a lodge of Freemasons symbolize the moralistic pillars of the world, represented by the lodge itself. An additional significant fact confronts us at this point: the column of Beauty or Plenty, originally emblematic of Frey, is situate in the south of the lodge. A Masonic symbol — sheaf of grain — always suspended above that station, denotes plenteousness.

The allusion to the fructifying powers of this divinity is explicit, and evidently symbolizes the maturing properties of the southern sun in hastening corn, etc., to ripe perfection. The usual interpretation of this emblem is deduced from the Hebraic word *shabal*, to flow, and alleged to be synonymous with abundance or plenty. Shibboleth, derived from that root, in the paraphrastic translation of the Vulgate Testament made during the early Middle Ages, is rendered *an ear of corn*.

Thorpe[2] has conclusively proved that the ear of corn was a symbol of the Northern goddess Frey, and a type of productive nature.[3] Evidently this symbolic reference has been conjoined at some period with the Judaic signification, but at what epoch remains to be seen. Whenever the fusion occurred it was apparently accepted as expressing accurately and entirely the secret meaning of Shibboleth and Frey's symbol. This mutual interchange, if made at all, was accomplished in an age when the traditions of

[1] In Jewish philosophy, the Hebrew sephiroth stood forth in the form of a circle, or other shape, including ten columns, three of which were designated as *Sapientia*, *Pulchrudito*, and *Fundamentum*, synonymous with the three pillars mentioned in the text. Buddeus, *Introduct. ad Hist. Philoso. Ebraeor.*, p. 277; Bruckerius, *Instit. Histor. Philosophiae*, Part I., Lib. II., cap. iii.

[2] *Northern Mythology*, Vol. I., p. 198.

[3] As such Frey was sometimes represented *ingenti priapo*. Vide Simrock, *Deutsche Mythologie*. Also as goddess of love. Olaus Mag., *op cit.*, p. 100.

worship of that goddess were still preserved, and the emblem fully comprehended in its allusions to Frey or plenty.

It is well known that the early Christian missionaries endeavored, so far as practicable, to harmonize the religious observances of Christ and the heathen Teutons. In numerous instances, old Norse customs which alluded directly to Pagan mythology were altered only so far as to furnish a slightly variant objective point,[1] and by this means much that originally represented the fast fading doctrines of the North maintained, under a Christian garb, a vigorous vitality. It is fairly inferred that the similarity which presents itself in Frey's ear of corn and Shibboleth, a sheaf of wheat, can be assigned to this policy practised by early Christian evangelists.

The symbolic lights of a lodge, respectively stationed in the east, west, and south, are also traceable to the Pagan superstitions of Teutonic mythology. Although this connection cannot be established with historical precision, sufficient evidence still extant may be gleaned from mediæval court usages, which leads to the conclusion that these flaming fires were originally associated with the temple worship of Odin, Thor, and Frey.

The symbol of the last named divinity was the sun, and typified the Seminator, the Fructifier, and Beauteous. It would seem that the lights mentioned were placed before the columns of these deities, and directly referred to their several attributes. For instance, in the case of Frey,[2] the sun delineated in the south was understood to

[1] Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, pp. 191–279.

[2] Perhaps the pillar of this goddess symbolized a decided priapic tendency, as the setting up of columns was anciently a favorite means of invocation in phallic worship. Westropp and Wake, *Influence of the Phallic Idea in the Religions of Antiquity*, p. 60. There was a secret society in France, as late as the eleventh century, for the observance of priapic rites. Payne Knight, *On the Worship of Priapus, etc.*, p. 182.

signify the potential means of producing plenty — emblematic of that divinity.

In the old Eddaic sagas, the moon, which is masculine, symbolizes Odin, since it is said in *Ragneröck, or Twilight of the Gods*,[1] that the wolf shall swallow up Odin, and at the same time destroy the moon.[2] Scandinavian mythology declared that light existed before the sun; and that the moon was created first, the sun afterwards.[3] But in what respect the third light alluded to Thor is, perhaps, impossible to elucidate.[4] I have previously mentioned this deity's mallet as a symbol of power and authority in the Master's hand, and that this officer, invested with his gavel, typifies Thor. Without doubt a subrogation of personality has occurred, so far as the present reference goes, and, in consequence, the flame which, in its ancient character, added additional pomp to the mystic ceremonies of the divine Hammer-Bearer, by an unaccountable transformation, now is the unwavering emblem of his substitute.

The early mediæval custom of lighting three fires[5] in a house, is apparently traceable to the symbolic lights of a Norse temple.

In a Masonic lodge, no light appears on the north side. The north was especially symbolized in judicial procedure of the Middle Ages. Below the judges, on the right, stood the accuser or complainant; on the left was the

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[1] *Gylfaginníng*, Str. 51.

[2] "Dasz der Wolf die Sonne verschlingt; der andre Wolf den Mond packen." Simrock, *Deutsche Mythologie*, p. 112; *Gylfaginníng, loc. cit.*

[3] Thorpe, *Northern Mythology*, Vol. I., p. 143.

[4] Completing the usual trilogy, it would be the stars substituted by Thor's burning taper. In the Upsala temple, he was delineated with twelve stars encircling his head. In circuitu duodecim stellæ. Olaus Mag., *Hist. Sept. vari. Condid.*, Lib. III., cap. vi. Stars still stud the frescoed walls of lodges. Symbolical in the eighteenth century. *Regulateur du Maçon* (Grade du Compagne), I., p. 6. Nine above master. *Ibid.* (Grade du Maitre), I., pp. 10–30. Stars in lodge vault. Fallou, *Mysterien der Freimaurer*, p. 216.

[5] Drei feuer im haus. Grimm, *Deutsche Rechts Alterthümer*, p. 209.

accused or defendant; the former in the south facing north, the latter in the north looking to the south.[1]

The earliest record of the old Teutonic tribunals appointed these several positions for the suitors at law. In the centre of the court, directly before the judge, stood an altar-piece or shrine,[2] upon which an open Bible was displayed.[3] The south, to the right[4] of the justiciaries, was deemed honorable and worthy for a plaintiff; but the north was typical of a frightful and diabolical sombreness.[5] When a party was put to his proofs in grievous criminal accusations, and made a solemn oath of purgation, his face turned towards the north; and in other cases of a less aggravated character, when obligated, he faced the east.

The judicial headsman, in executing the extreme penalty of outraged justice, turned the convict's face northward, or towards the place whence emanated the earliest, dismal shades of night.[6] When Earl Hakon bowed a tremulous knee before the deadly powers of Paganism, and sacrificed his seven-year-old child, he gazed out upon the far-off, gloomy north.[7]

In Nâstrond, or shores of death, stood a revolting

[1] Unten vor richter und urtheilern, stand rechts der Kläger, links der Beklägte oder schuldige; jener mithin *gegen suden*, dieser *gegen norden*. *Ibid.*, p. 808.

[2] This was usually designated as holy-dome, and contained relicts of a patron saint. The earliest Christian oaths were evidently sworn upon the sainted shrine, and without the sacred Scriptures. By a guildic statute, passed in 1350, it is ordained that the new members be sworn on the holidome: and therto havn yie sworon on the holidom. *Return of Norwich Guild*, No. XII.; Smith, *English Guilds*, p. 36. Later, in 1494, to the holidome is added: "and by this boke." *Ibid.*, p. 189.

[3] Lacroix, *Les Moeurs et Usages au Moyen Age*, p. 379.

[4] Teutonic judges generally sat in the west, facing east. Vide *infra*.

[5] *Mitternacht* und *norden* hatte aber insgemein den begriff des schauerlichen, traurigen und bösen. Grimm, *Deutsche Rechts Alterthümer*, p. 808.

[6] Der nachrichter kehrt den armen Sunder der enthauptet soll das gesicht *gegen die nachtseite*. *Ibid.*

[7] Ibid., *loc. cit.*

hall, whose portals opened towards the north — the regions of night.[1] North, by the Jutes, was denominated black or sombre; the Frisians called it fear-corner. The gallows faced the north, and from these hyperborean shores everything base and terrible proceeded. In consequence of this belief, it was ordered that, in the adjudication of a crime, the accused should be on the north side of the court enclosure.[2] And in harmony with the Scandinavian superstition, no lodge of Masons illuminates the darkened north with a symbolic light, whose brightness would be unable to dissipate the gloom of that cardinal point with which was associated all that was sinstrous and direful.[3]

In its details, a Masonic lodge, either directly or indirectly, imitated the Norse tribunals; and the superstitious notions of ancient Scandinavians touching the north — the deadly night — were ingrafted into craft formularies. An

[1] Einen Saal seh ich, der sonne fern,
In Nastrond; *die Thüren sind nordwärts gekehrt.*
Gifttropfen fallen durch die Fenster nieder;
Aus Schlangenrücken ist der Saal gewunden
Im starrenden strome stehen da und waten
Meuchelmörder und meineidige.

Völuspá, Str. 42, Simrock's trans.; also, the later Edda, *Gylfaginning*, Str. 52.

[2] Grimm, *Deutsche Rechts Alterthümer*, p. 809.

[3] Conformable to the idea involved in this symbolism, the early Christian ecclesiastics assigned seats on the north side to new proselytes, and was emblematic of that darkness of unbelief from which they had barely escaped. An old Apprentice's catechism, preserved by Fallou, *Mysterien der Freimaurer*, p. 243, presents the same conception:

"Wo haben die Lehrlinge ihrer Platz?

"*A.* In *norden.*

"Warum werdet ihr Freimaurer?

"*A.* Weil ich in *Finsterniss* war, und das *Licht* sehen wollte."

At the close of the eighteenth century, the candidate for the degree of Entered Apprentice was stationed directly in the north, for the reason that he was typically able to sustain but a feeble light: "Au septrion, parce qu'ils ne peuvent soutenir qu'une faible lumière." *Regulateur du Maçon* (Grade d'Ap.), pp. 36–39.

impression obtains, that lodge lights are to be interpreted to signify three windows, opening respectively in the south, west, and east; this assumption is unquestionably incorrect, and lacks the essential elements, as usually elucidated, of symbolism.

If the foregoing illustrations, drawn from the Eddaic songs, be accepted as correct, a far more sublime idea was typified than isolated openings in an oblong workshop. Moreover, J. Van Eyck's painting in the Louvre, still extant, presents a stonecutters' lodge, of the fifteenth century, without three principal lights as outlooks for the Master and his Wardens. In addition to this, the Torgau ordinance of 1462[1] unequivocally enacts: "That any Fellow-craftsman failing to close the shutters of the window at his work-bench, after lodge has ceased labor, shall be punished." Lodges of mediæval builders were too numerous around large structures to permit a close attachment to the south wall of the edifice, and thus render the north side of the lodge "a place of darkness."[2] On the contrary, that point of the compass embodied, among Masons, the symbolism which originated in the burning lights consecrated to the Northern divinities.

The covering or canopy of a Masonic lodge is bedecked with stars, and is, evidently, taken from the emblems used in ancient Teutonic temples, which represented the universe supported by columns of Odin, Thor, or Frey. Civil tribunals of the early Middle Ages, or at least of the Christianized Germans, were convened under the open heavens.[3] At a subsequent period, when courts assembled

[1] Were die fenster bey seiner Bank nicht zuthut, der soll geben iii. kr. allemal zu pusse. *Ordnung der Steinmetzen*, Art. 69.

[2] The window theory and side-wall protection notion may be found in Krause, *Die Drei ältesten Kunsturkunden*, Bd. I., Ab. 2, p. 361.

[3] Grimm, *Deutsche Rechts Alterthümer*, p. 793. That a close union existed between Norse tribunals of justice and the temples, is beyond question. Almost invariably, courts were convoked in the immediate vicinity of these sacred edifices, and directly in front. Simrock, *Deutsche Mythologie*, p. 492.

within doors, in order to perpetuate the Paganistic symbolism, they appear to have been tinged with a blue sky studded with golden stars. This coloring, which portrayed the cerulean heaven, may yet be seen in Gothic cathedrals over the main altar. It was the usual custom of missionary Christian architects to erect edifices for the new worship upon the site of Pagan temples, and on ground where holy trees grew, under whose wide-spreading branches courts of justice were opened.[1]

As already noted, the evangelists endeavored, and with success, to harmonize the immemorial religious observances of the heathens with the religious usages of Christian faith; and, in consequence, earlier architecture betrayed the cloudy, canopied heavens, typifying the expansive vault of the universe. As a symbol of the world, still idealized by a lodge of Masons, an azure-colored dome, strewn with stars, accurately expresses the original design of the Upsala temple — a signification which the lapse of ages has not changed.

Blue has always been esteemed by the Teutonic races as an emblem of fidelity and fortitude;[2] in many German provinces a blue banner was carried in processions as a sign of faithfulness and friendship.[3]

Not unfrequently this color was worn by mourners in unfading remembrance of the dead.[4] The most solemn oath known to the ancient Teuton was sworn on a blue

During the Middle Ages, justice was administered, in a summary way, in the church porch. Fosbroke, *British Monachism*, p. 262. Same custom known to the ancient Romans. Liv., *Hist. Rom.*, Tome I., 30. The Scandinavian priesthood, in Pagan times, assumed the duties of judicature as direct substitutes of the god of justice. Dahlmann, *Geschichte von Dännemark*, Bd. III., p. 118. Preference was shown for the curtilage surrounding a mediæval church, on which trials were called by proclamation. Simrock, *ut supra*; also, p. 475.

[1] Grimm, *op. cit.*, p. 805.

[2] Grimm, *Altdeutsche Walder*, Bd. I.

[3] *Das Niebelungen Lied*, Str. 1623.

[4] Creuzer, *Symbolik und Mythologie der Alten*, Bd. IV., p. 597.

stone.[1] This is evidently the derivative source whence Masonic altars, covered with blue, have emanated. Equal reverence appears to have been accorded by Druids to this color.[2] The conception involved in this symbolism has survived to modern Freemasons, who designate their places of assembling by the name of "blue lodges"—typical of that unalterable constancy and zeal expressed by the ancient emblem.

A Masonic lodge is situate due east and west, and, in this respect, it is said to resemble King Solomon's temple. The Israelites, during the period of Egyptian bondage, were in a greater or less degree tinctured with strange doctrines; and in view of this fact, Moses changed the orientation of the tabernacle, in order that it might present as few points in common as possible with the temples of Egypt.

These edifices, according to Spencer,[3] were entered from the west, and their most sacred furniture and ritualistic utensils faced the east. Solomon's temple at Jerusalem, as an exact counterpart of the Mosaic tabernacle, possessed no entrance at the west; which end was perpetually closed by a wall, to exclude the profane from the sanctum sanctorum,[4] which, moreover, was turned westward. Through portals in the east the Jews entered the edifice for worship.[5] Immediately upon entering, the devout Israelite advanced by the north side towards the west, the objective point of his worship; and in departing from the building, if he retrograded with his face directed westward, the south side was to the left.[6] From this, it sufficiently

[1] Simrock, *Deutsche Mythologie*, pp. 475–485. Vide *Ind. pag.* De his quae *faciunt super petras.* Painted ceilings. See Poole, *Ecclesiastical Architecture in England*, p. 281.

[2] "In all official acts, the bard wore his sky-colored robe." Turner, *Hist. Angl.-Sax.*, Bk. II., ch. 3.

[3] *De Legib. Hebraor. Ritualib.*, II., p. 308.

[4] Joseph. *De Bello. Jud.*, Lib. VI., 916. [5] Spencer, *op. cit.*, II., p. 309.

[6] Ea via egredetur quod sinistram erat hoc est ad meridem. Spencer, *De*

appears that the Jewish temple was orientated directly the reverse of a Masonic lodge. However, it is a rational conclusion that early Christian evangelists to Northern nations, in attempting to reconcile the two religious systems, were either ignorant of the exact orientation of the sacred edifice at Jerusalem, which is possible, or adopted the Germanic symbolism of east and west location, with which the ground plans of Christian churches coincided.[1] Here again the remarkable similitude, already traced, between Gothic courts and a lodge, prominently appears. The situation of these tribunals was due east and west.

Mediæval courts were sometimes entered at the east;[2] but the gate, or ingress, of the Welsh tribunal was in the west.[3] Consequently, the holy enclosure of the last named court presented a uniformity with Masonic lodges which was not shared by the former; but this dissimilarity is purely unsubstantial, since the idea of orientation in both instances was identical, as will clearly appear. The presiding judge, in a Gothic court, sat in the west, with

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Leg. Hebraor. Ritualib., II., p. 313. The Jews were not permitted to enter the temple with either staff or sandal, nor allowed to leave the edifice except in a prescribed form: "Ne tergum aut illæ posterioris corporis partes sanctuaris obverterentur." *Ibid.*, p. 130. Vide Buddeus, *Antiq. Veter. Hebraeorum.*, Lib. I., cap. vii.

[1] Spencer, *op. cit.*, p. 308, notes the difference of orientation between the Jewish and Christian temples: Contra quam Christanorum mos est in quorum sacris aedibus altare versus orientem, vestibulum versus occidentum colocare solent. The early churches were not directed towards a particular point of the compass until about the fourth century, at which epoch every inconvenience was submitted to, in order to secure an exact east and west orientation. Hope, *Historical Essay on Architecture*, p. 112. How closely sacred edifices were made to conform to the precise orbit of the sun, even to a deviation on the two days of the year when that luminary deviates from a straight line, see Hope, *op. cit.*, p. 442. Same design in Norman architecture. Poole, *Ecclesiastical Architecture in England*, p. 147.

[2] *Legenda Bonifacii*, Lib. II., cap. 8. Quod judex cum assessoribus suis possint videri a capite usque ad scapula, *introitus versus orientem apertus.*

[3] Grimm, *Rechts Alterthümer*, p. 809.

his face directly towards the east.[1] As previously observed, the passageway into the arena of the tribunal was in the west end.

This entrance was placed under the custody or guard of some person judicially appointed,[2] and was closed by a hazel paling, before described, and answered to a gate. Perhaps this fact may furnish a thread of research, which might terminate in a solution of the phraseology, south, west, and east gates, still current in modern Masonic bodies. Whenever the judge opened his court, or engaged in other impressive rites, his face must turn with unerring directness toward that point of the compass whence emanated the glittering rays of sunlight. At the conclusion of the colloquy, which ensued between the arbiter and his subordinates, he turned toward the rising orb of day, and proclaimed a court duly organized, amid the flashing rays of sunrise reflected from an unsheathed sword.

At the opening ceremonies the judge arose, and with a naked sword in his right hand, pronounced the unvarying formula that peace and harmony should prevail within the consecrated area ; thereupon the court was declared opened in due form.[3] In the Welsh tribunals, the judiciary sat in the east, facing directly the reverse, in order, as was alleged, that the bright glowing light might not dazzle the eye. But Grimm justly states that here, as in the Scandinavian courts, the details and symbolism of orientation were uniform.[4] By the ancient Germans, property was transferred under the rays of the rising sun, and involved

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 807. Schauberg, *Symbolik der Freimaurerei*, Bd. I., p. 409, touches incidentally upon ancient court location, but fails to pursue the line of analogy.

[2] Custoderi ejusmodi introitus debet per eum cui judicialiter adjudicatum fuerit. Grimm, *Deutsche Re. Alterth.*, p. 807. Illustration, in Lacroix, *Les Moeurs et Usages au Moyen Age*, p. 373, of Charlemagne, with drawn sword in hand, as a judge; also (p. 375), seated on a throne, with *Sapientia* — wisdom — surrounding his head.

[3] Grimm, *ut supra*, pp. 807, 808.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 809.

the same conception permeating Gothic judicature — the invocation of Norse deities in legal proceedings. Transfer of real estate was placed under the especial sanction and patronage of the sun or Frey — typical of the ever-producing earth.[1]

As connected with this system of tenure, it may be of interest to add that the accession of nobility to power was symbolized by the ancient Teutons. For instance, the newly-installed possessor of a shire, between Helmstatt and Wolfenbüttel, exactly at sunrise, with a naked poniard, drew three strokes crosswise in the ascending light. However, for the history of the craft, it is of greater importance to mention, whenever a Hungarian monarch was crowned with his royal tiara, he wielded a sword to the north, south, east, and west.[2] This custom is still practised upon the induction of officers in Masonic bodies.

A judge's position in Gothic courts, as stated, was almost uniformly in the west with face turned due east. The change which has occurred in lodges, so far as the Master's station is concerned, was evidently made in order to give a more thorough idea of symbolism to initiates, whose eyes should gaze uninterruptedly upon that cardinal point as a source of light. Candor demands the confession that no historical data, now known, warrants this opinion, but it is evident the alteration referred to originated at a comparatively recent period, and with it the symbol of power, the hammer, Thor's emblem, properly associated with the west, the more ancient position, was also carried to the east, and there remains.

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 278.

[2] Die ungarischen Könige schwangen bei ihrer Krönung ein schwert nach den vier welttheilen. Grimm, *Deutsche Rechts Alterthümer*, p. 279, note (***). The usage alluded to in the text, concluding installation ceremonies, will perhaps suggest itself to the Masonic mind.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

A Mediæval Lodge: how Approached — Knocks — Master's Hat — Emblematic of Superiority and Acquisition — Gessler's Hat, Type of Power — Worn by Teutonic Judges — Craft Convened by Distinct Raps — Three Blows with a Gavel — The Judicial Mace — The Justice and Master to be Seated — Significance of the Official Staff — Three Steps to Master's Chair — Similar Gradation in Upsala Temple — Numerals in Lodge Ritual — Three as a Fundamental Norm — Five and Seven — Application to Legal Purposes.

DURING the Middle Ages, when a travelling Fellow approached a lodge of Masons in prescribed form, he first exclaimed: "May God bless, direct, and prosper you, Master, Pallirer (wardens), and dear Fellows!" Whereupon the Master, or in his absence the Pallirer, was instructed by the ordinance of Torgau[1] to thank him in reply, in order that the visiting brother might see who was custodian of the lodge. And having obtained suitable assistance, the wandering craftsman removed his hat and thanked the brethren with an established formula.[2] From the preceding ceremony, it is evident that neither the Master nor Wardens of a mediæval German lodge were distinguishable by distinctive tokens while at

[1] So soll In der Meister oder pallirer danken, das er sieht welcher der oberst ist in der Hütten. *Ordnung der Steinmetzen vom Y.* 1462, Art. 107. Vide Stieglitz, *Ueber die Kirche zu Rochlitz*, p. 48.

[2] So soll er seinem Hut abthun und soll danken, u. s. w. *Ordnung der Steinmetzen*, 1462, Art. 110.

mechanical labor; otherwise, no regulation was essential or obligatory upon the officers to make proper response to a visitor for the purpose of determining the Master.

Curiously enough, the implication is direct and clear that the Masons of ancient times, when regularly convened for work, and during the formal reception of a traveller, pursued their daily avocation and attended to usual Masonic demands, within closed portals, with covered heads. At the present day the custom has materially changed, and, with one exception, the members of a lodge at labor noticeably divest themselves of their hats. This is unquestionably a transformation of recent origin, and with it the instruction usually incident to the distinction has been adapted to the innovation.

When the initiatory rites in a mediæval lodge were performed, the Master was not thus prominently contrasted with his brethren. I speak with especial emphasis upon this point, because the esoteric and sublime signification involved in the Master's hat has been recklessly perverted and destroyed. It was typical, during the Middle Ages, of superiority, and was so interpreted in the ceremonies of initiation by the Masons of France at the termination of the eighteenth century, all of whom sat in open lodge with covered heads.[1] Among the Germans, this article was used as a symbol of transfer of chattels and landed property. The judge held a hat in his hands; the purchaser must receive it from him, and with it the title passed. Frequently the ceremony perfecting a sale was performed

[1] At the conclusion of the rites in French lodges, the Master handed the candidate his hat, and said: For the future, you shall be covered in a Master's lodge. This very ancient usage is a sign of liberty and superiority: Il lui rend son chapeau, en disant. "Désormais vous serez couvert en Loge de Maitre; cet usage très-ancien annonce la liberté et la superiorité." *Regulateur du Maçon* (Grad. du Mait.), p. 25. Consult, further, Winzer, *Die Deutschen Bruderschaften des Mittelalters*, p. 68; Schauberg, *Symbolik der Freimaurer*, Bd. I., p. 62; and Krause, *Die Drei ältesten Kunsturkunden*, Bd. I., Abt. 1, p. 307.

by the contract parties thrusting their hands into a hat, and upon withdrawing them the estate changed owners.

By the expression "putting hands in a hat," was also meant a mutual oath between persons to a confederation or conspiracy. But the most important signification of this covering for the head was its use as a symbol of power and authority, and in such sense it was oftentimes set up as a signal of compulsory assemblage. When thus elevated or fixed upon a pedestal, it convened the people of the neighborhood. Gessler's well-known emblem of subjection and superiority, was a hat erected on a pole or column.[1] Ancient Germans shared the symbolism of this article with the Romans, who also regarded it as a type of freedom or as a release from servitude.[2] Upon the death of Nero, so much joy was manifested by the populace, that, in the excess of their delight, they rushed about the eternal city with hats on.[3]

Gothic justices wore a cap or suitable head-dress when presiding over court, as emblematic of authority,[4] and manifestly the people wore their hats while attending the tribunal as symbols of personal liberty.[5] And with this typical allusion general acquiescence originally harmonized; but the distinctive and exceptional feature of a Master's head-dress contains the secret symbolism of authority at the present day, while mediæval Masons worked with covered heads as a sign of freedom. Both customs, de-

[1] Auch des Gesslers aufgesteckter hut in der schweizersage ist symbol der obergewalt zu gericht und feld. Grimm, *Deutsche Rechts Alterthümer*, p. 151.

[2] It was thus symbolized by the Gallic craftsmen of the eighteenth century, when the initiate was covered with his hat: cet usage très-ancien annonce la liberté. *Regulateur du Maçon* (Grad. du Mait.), p. 25.

[3] "Tantumque gaudium publice praebuit, ut plebs pileata toto urbe discurreret." Suetonius, *In Vit. Nero.*, cap. 57.

[4] Swen der richter vregget umme ein orteil, *tut her sinen hut abe.* Grimm, *op. cit.*, p. 764. See Lacroix, *Les Moeurs et Usages*, Figs. 300–306.

[5] In an engraving, dating from the fifteenth century, given in Lacroix, *op. cit.*, p. 379, all persons attendant upon court are presented with heads covered.

scended from a remote Teutonic antiquity, have long since dissipated their vital forces, while the ordinary interpretation possesses less significance than a dilapidated mile-post.

Mediæval Masonic lodges were opened with impressive ceremonies, and observed a certain degree of careful formality. When the craftsmen were called to labor, a signal sounded. It was enacted by the Torgau law that "the Master should give three knocks, a Pallirer two, consecutively; and in case the craft at large were imperatively demanded, one blow must be struck, morning, midday, or at eventide."[1] This was claimed to be in accordance with the ancient usages of the country.[2] Exactly similar signals were appropriately given when the lodge closed. From this it is evident that, as early as the year 1462, the operative Masons followed an old custom in opening and closing their labors with distinctive knocks. Three strokes, by a Master, convened all members of that degree; two strokes, in rapid succession, by the Pallirer, called the Fellows together; and by a single blow each member, whether Master, Craftsman, or Apprentice, was assembled in lodge.

If a Pallirer failed to sound the signal, or, for any cause,[3] neglected it, or if Fellows and Apprentices disregarded the stroke, and were dilatory in commencing their daily avocations, the Warden was forced to record each delinquency, and work it up against the offender upon the stone;[4] and any Warden allowing the assessed penalty to go unsatisfied, was bound to pay it himself. In the opening and closing of Teutonic tribunals of justice, the judge carried a staff or mace as an emblem of jurisdiction; nor was he allowed to divest himself of this official badge

[1] Ein Meister sol schlagen drey schlege, ein Pallirer zwein einfort, einen wen man rügen sol morgen, mittags, abend. *Ordnung der Steinmetzen*, 1462, Art. 28.

[2] Nach des landes alter gewohnheit. *Ibid.* [3] *Ordnung, cit.*, Art. 54.

[4] Evidently intended to be the block on which the operative was at work.

without such dispossession being a constructive conclusion of further proceedings.[1] Order was enjoined by the arbiter with the mace which he held in his right hand, and with which he struck a blow upon the pedestal before him. He thereupon elevated it above his head until silence had been obtained and the court formally opened. As often as harmony was broken, a stroke of the staff preserved it. When the court concluded, a blow was given, and the following order pronounced: "Since no further business offers, this court is now closed."[2]

One custom prevailing in judicial procedure of the Middle Ages has descended to Masonic lodges unimpaired and without variation: the judge was required to remain seated in his station during regular business, and in case he arose, all argument ceased, and further proceedings were stayed until he resumed his seat.[3]

A standing rule prescribes, when a Master of a lodge rises, disputations and debates shall instantly cease and silence be maintained. Grimm[4] also says the three blows were of emblematic import, and were struck by judges sitting in an official capacity. Amid joyous songs and gay festivities a nail was driven into boundary posts by Teutonic judges, who struck three blows with a hammer; —the echo of those far-off signals is perpetuated in the

[1] Des stabs konnte ein richter nicht entrathen, er gebot damit stille (durch Klopfen) und hegte das gericht; so bald er ihm niederlegte war das gericht geschlossen. Grimm, *Deuts. Rechts Alt.*, p. 761. Krause, *Die Drei ältesten Kunsturkunden*, Bd. I., Abt. 1, p. 304, publishes an old German lodge ritual, according to which, the Master opened his lodge with a long staff in hand. After the formal colloquy had ensued, the lodge was declared opened, amid three strokes of a hammer. Fallou, *Mysterien der Freimaurer*, p. 58.

[2] Eben so schlägt er nach beendigung des gerichts auf den tisch und spricht: die wiel niemand mehr fürzubringen hat, wird das gericht hiermit aufgeschlagen. Grimm, *op. cit.*, p. 832.

[3] Muss sitzen *sein aufstehen* hindert den fortgang der verhandlung. *Ibid.*, p. 763.

[4] Die richters sol to deme ersten male dre slege flan an ene burch. *Ibid.*, p. 209.

mystic labors of the modern craft![1] The deacons, entrusted to satisfy the officers of a lodge, before opening, that none are present but those who have regularly passed the mysterious portals, carry staves in the performance of an important duty. Mediæval judicial formularies will satisfactorily indicate the source whence this custom is derived. The constabulary, or court messengers, of that distant epoch were symbolically clothed with a staff as a badge of authority to investigate all matters within their provinces.[2] For a like purpose Masonic deacons are invested with an official wand, as a distinctive mark that the whispered word is entrusted to the ear of a proper officer.[3]

The Master's chair is approached by three steps or grades, — an arrangement apparently descended, with numerous appointments, from Scandinavian antiquity. In the Upsala temple the Norse gods — Odin, Thor, and Frey — were presented sometimes as enthroned on high seats, one elevated above the other.[4] Thor was placed on a throne to the left of the principal divinity, while Frey sat on the right side.[5] These thrones upon which the

[1] In the tribunals alluded to were three judges, each of whom sounded a blow with his hammer, in succession, one following the other. Einer noch dem anderen that *drei schläge* auf den eingefleckten nagel. Grimm, *Deutsche Rechts Alterthümer*, pp. 832, 833. Three mystical blows with a staff or baton; Drei ruthenschläge. *Ibid.*, p. 209.

[2] Auch bei den *handwerksumfragen* wird von den gesellen ein stab gehalten. Grimm, *op. cit.*, p. 767, note (*). The Masonic custom described in the text was, evidently, in the mind of the great German archæologist when the note was penned. Monastic constables carried staves. Fosbroke, *British Monachism*, p. 262. Festival batons: *bacula festiv. Ibid.*, p. 120.

[3] Hibernian justices were tendered a staff on being inducted into office. Also delivered to newly-crowned kings. Moore, *History of Ireland*, Vol. I., pp. 42-3. Vide Winzer, *Die Deutschen Bruderschaften des Mittelalters*, p. 5. Regulation of the year 1408 required guildic Masters to bear white wands. Smith, *English Guilds*, p. 141. *Rector chori*, with white staff. Barclay, *Ship of Fooles*, 182.

[4] Adam Brem, *Hist. Eccles.*, 1; Geijer, *History of Sweden*, p. 34; especially *Gylfaginning*, Str. 2.

[5] Olaus Magnus, *Hist. Septen. vari. Condi.*, p. 100.

deities were seated, according to the prose Edda, were graduated by an intervening step. Odin's stood highest, on three grades; Thor's next, on two; and Frey's seat was the lowest, and numbered one.

It may be inferred that the location of the Carlovingian and mediæval justiciary accurately described the formal orientation of a Teutonic temple; therefore, the Northern divinities sat in the west, and faced directly opposite. Such arrangement places Frey in the south, and grouped Thor to the north of Odin. Access was had, consequently, to the sacred thrones[1] by an ascending gradation of steps.

At what period of time the seat of Wisdom was translated to the east, and now filled by the Master of a lodge, is perhaps beyond recovery, but the thrones of Thor, Strength, and Frey, Beauty, remained in their present cardinal positions. The type of superior elevation was perpetuated in the transfer, and is still maintained by the three steps arising to the oriental pedestal. In the west, the Warden's chair is approached by the two steps of Thor, while Frey's seat in the south is elevated one grade above the floor.

Another conclusion, confirmatory of the preceding argument, may be deduced from the symbolical gradation leading to the Master's chair. The usual explanation of these steps declares them to be representative of the three stages of human life — youth, manhood, and age.

It is possible that the original significance has been lost in the present application. The period of youth, with the color and roseate freshness of health, symbolizes beauty, or the type of Frey. Manhood, with its vigor and endurance, is synonymous with Thor, the god of strength. Age, from the accumulated experience of years, is a type of wisdom,

[1] A manuscript copy of the Edda, still preserved in Upsal, portrays the three Norse divinities appropriately seated.

which, it will be remembered, was Odin's symbolism.[1] In the Gothic tribunals the presiding judge occupied the most elevated seat, while his associates were graduated by higher or lower benches, to the right and left of the supreme justice,[2] an arrangement evidently imitated after the location of Scandinavian deities in Northern temples.

In the ordinary details of lodge ritual, numbers constitute an important element. Although not especially symbolized, they bear so significant relations as to arrest attention. The fundamental numbers of Freemasonry are 3, 5, and 7, and of these by far the most essential is the numeral 3. Northern mythology based the entire physical world upon the three roots of the ash Yggdrasil, whose branches covered earth's extensive surface and reached to the highest heavens.[3] Also, a lodge of Masons is typically supported by the three principal columns of Wisdom, Strength, and Beauty, and, curiously enough, beneath one of the roots of Yggdrasil was the fountain of wisdom,[4] from which the superior deity of the North, Odin, replenished his vast intelligence.[5] Three norns or fates

[1] Odin was frequently represented as an old, venerable, long-bearded man. Thorpe, *Northern Mythology*, Vol. I., p. 203.

[2] Dem Richter *zu beiden seiten* sassen die vertheiler; er etwas höher, sie tiefer. Grimm, *Deutsche Rechts Alterthümer*, p. 808.

[3] Edda, Str. 15. Schauberg, *Symbolik der Freimaurerei*, Vol. I., chap. xxix., has collected, with industry and learning, the almost universal application of the numeral 3 as a substantial norm, particularly in Teutonic mythology. In the *Grimnismal*, Str. 31, Yggdrasil is thus described:

> "Drei wurzeln strecken sich nach dreien seiten
> Unter der Esche Yggdrasil,
> Hel wohnt unter einer, Hrimthursen under der andrern,
> Aber unter der dritten Menschen."
>
> Simrock, *Deutsche Mythologie*, p. 33.

[4] *Gylfaginning*, c. 15; Thorpe, *Northern Mythology*, Vol. I., p. 12.

[5] *Gylfag.*, c. 15; Simrock, *Deutsche Mythologie*, p. 36. In the initiatory ceremonies of the German Freemasons, a mirror is used to typify self-examination and knowledge. Schauberg, *op. cit.*, p. 104. This symbol is certainly traceable to a judicial custom, in imitation of Baldur, gazing in silent and solitary contemplation upon the waters of a consecrated spring: Mirmir's fountain, the source of wisdom. Simrock, *ut supra*, p. 300. Water was used by the French

guarded the well of Urd.[1] The three lights, alluding to Frey, Thor, and Odin, have been explained, together with the steps delineated on the Master's carpet, and reference has been made at length to the three cardinal points of the compass — East, West, and South — and the striking resemblance between Masonic orientation and that of a mediæval court.

The old ordinance of Torgau prescribes that two additional Masters shall be associated with a Master whose qualifications are disputed, in order to arbitrate upon his competency.[2]

This number, three, constitutes the minimum of a Masonic lodge, and seems to have been a derivative prototype of the deities at Upsala. During the early Middle Ages no court was legally organized unless three judges at least were present, and these tribunals, perpetuating ancient temple worship, frequently, if not invariably, convened under trees in imitation of the Scandinavian ash. Seven trees were prescribed as the highest number.[3] Three judges were absolutely required to open and regularly hold a court of justice; the maximum was seven.[4] In some cases five were demanded to proceed in due form to adjudicate upon the matters brought before them.

This practice in mediæval tribunals affords a solution of the Masonic landmark, that three or more members are necessary to open and close lodge work, which, being fairly

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Masons as symbolical of purgation. *Regulateur du Maçon*, p. 26; also, Krause, *Die Drei ältesten Kunsturkunden*, Bd. II., Ab. 2, p. 262.

[1] *Völuspá*, Str. 20; *Gylfaginning*, c. 15; Thorpe, *op. cit.*, Vol. I., p. 12.

[2] Aber Kumpt ein Meister von Neues auff das er vor nicht Meysterey getrieben hat, der sol zwehn bewerte Meister haben, die für In sprechen. *Ordnung*, 1462, Art. 4. No Masonic tribunal, for the trial of an alleged delinquent, should be composed of less than three Masters. Fallou, *Mysterien der Freimaurer*, p. 47.

[3] Grimm, *Deutsche Rechts Alterthümer*, p. 794; Maurer, *Geschichte der Markenverfassung*, p. 328.

[4] Grimm, *Ibid*, p. 795; Unger, *Die Altdeutsche Gerichtsverfassung*, pp. 113, 181.

interpreted, signifies any number from three, five, or seven craftsmen, are essential to regular labor. It has been previously stated that three knocks[1] were of symbolic import in a Gothic court, and still exists in Masonic bodies.

This norm, also signifying everything good and desirable,[2] was a practical element of legal procedure of extensive use. The ancient Germans reckoned three great national lines: Herminones, Jugaevones, and Estævones.[3] Tacitus says[4] there were three social grades: nobiles, ingenui, and servi.

The lex Alamania divided the nation into optimates, medii, and servi. Also tres faciunt collegium, corporation or guild.[5] Three men constituted a contubernium. By law, each Germanic landed proprietor was compelled to receive at least three guests.[6] Three bones, tria ossa, were typified in the Salic law. A judge's chair must have three legs, an evident reference to the Yggdrasil roots.

The sacred circle of a mediæval court had three principal stakes of entrance,[7] but others might be added *ad captandum*. A branch of a tree having three twigs was used as a symbol by the Germans in the transfer of property.

[1] In the consecration of churches, the bishop rapped three times on the door. Fallou, *op. cit.*, p. 242. Three excuses allowed to members for non-attendance on a guild, in the fourteenth century, viz.: "for ye Kyngges servise, er for stronge sekenesse er twenty myle dwellyng." Smith, *English Guilds*, p. 30.

[2] Grimm, *op. cit.*, p. 208. [3] Plin. *Hist.* [4] *Germania*, cap. xxv.

[5] Three make a guild. Wilda, *Das Gilden Wesen des Mittelalters*, p. 14.

[6] Rogge, *Das Gerichtswesen der Germanen*, p. 105. "In the exercise of Northern hospitality, the old Swedes surpassed every other people." Geijer, *Hist. of Sweden*, p. 33. One of the early laws of Scandinavia enacted that no traveller should leave a lodging-house without chopping as much wood as he had burned, in order that fuel might be at hand for an emergency in that rigorous clime.

[7] Grimm, *Rechts Alterthümer*, p. 208. Three staves, possessed of a terrible magical power, mentioned in *Skirnisfaer*, Str. 36. The three drinks referred to in the *Fragarœdhur*, Str. 58, were of mystical import, and may be the origin of the ancient Masonic custom, at banquets, to drink a toast in three distinct times or motions. Fallou, *Mysterien der Freimaurer*, p. 65.

A like number of trees planted in the soil had a similar import. Three cords twisted into a rope possessed a mystical meaning in the dreaded Vehmgericht. Three apples, pears, turnips, etc., might be appropriated by the traveller without fear of legal punishment.

In the old Northern cosmogony, three doors in a house had a symbolic reference to Norse temple worship.[1] A like number of tables was requisite in each royal mansion. As already urged, three fires in a dwelling were typical of the principal divinities of Upsala. In the legal transfer of a house, the symbol of possession was performed by a bailiff, who cut three chips from the door-post and passed them to the purchaser.[2]

Legal messengers from the mysterious Vehmgericht, experiencing difficulty or danger in approaching the residence of an accused, served judicial notice upon the person charged with crime at night, by affixing the summons to the door-latch with a royal coin enclosed, and taking three notches from a vine. A lawful service, among the early Scandinavians, was made by the bailiff cutting three incisions in the door or posts, and placing the court symbol above the transom.[3] A carter could feed three sheaves of grain to his oxen from the shocks of any landowner, but beyond that number the excess must be paid. Three oaks, as previously stated, was the minimum number of trees for the court enclosure. Three waves of the sea were also symbolized by the Teutonic races as a possessory limit. Three bites, three footsteps, and three blows with a wand or staff were of mystical signification in legal deliberations.

Judges, in opening court, must strike three distinct blows[4]—a number of raps still used in a lodge of Masons, and has especial reference to the craft as a congregated body.

[1] Drei thüren im haus. Grimm, *op. cit.*, p. 209. [2] *Ibid.*

[3] Grimm, *Deuts. Rechts Alterthümer*, p. 174; Maurer, *Markenverfassung*, p. 350.

[4] Grimm, *Ibid.*, p. 67. For judicial use of symbols, see Simrock, *Deutsche Mythologie*, p. 517, and Schulte, *Reichs- und Rechtsgeschichte*, pp. 18, 436, 456.

In certain judicial ceremonies, three words must be pronounced by a person making oath. Three cries were made in tithing, and likewise in the clamor of murder.[1] When a suitor at law was compelled to expurgate, three questions were successively and formally propounded, and an oath was frequently thrice repeated by one person upon a sword thrust into the earth.[2] In legal attestation, three witnesses were necessary, and three formal and three informal courts were recognized by the Teutonic constitution.

Heinous crimes were divided into three, viz., robbery with violence, arson, and theft. Upon conviction of an accused, it was usual to concede him the chance of selecting one from three proffered penalties. Three years and three days were of significance in Germanic tribunals. No householder was obliged to entertain a guest gratuitously longer than three days.[3]

This numeral was always separated thus, 2 + 1, or two to one, never 1 + 2, one to two. Masonic strokes with a mallet are almost invariably sounded in this disjunctive manner. In the Welsh tribunals, numerals were abundantly used in a triadic formula.

The number 7 frequently appears as a fundamental norm among the ancient Teutonic nations. Seven completed a party or convivium. Seven scabinei[4] or justices were absolutely essential to hear and decide certain pleas produced

[1] Grimm, *op. cit.*, p. 209.

[2] "Do Sifride der Kuene diu maere reht vernam,
Sin swert stiesz er in die Erden und zuo dem steine kam,
Darauf swuor er dri eide."

Hürnen Sifriet, Str. 52. Vide *Das Kleinen Heldenbuch*, Simrock's ed., p. 201, *et seq.*

[3] Traceable to Norse mythology. See *Gylfaginning*, c. 42. For three nights with mystic sense, see *Skirnisfaer*, Str. 42, and *Rigsmâl*, Str. 6.

[4] Savigny, *Geschichte des Romischen Rechts*, Bd. I., p. 238, note (a); Unger, *Altdeutsche Gerichtsverfassung*, p. 181. For the use of the numerals 3 and 7, as applied, with symbolic import, to architectural art, see Poole, *Ecclesiastical Architecture in England*, pp. 185–187.

before them. In some cases seven witnesses were necessary to substantiate an accusation. Every freeman possessor of seven shoe-lengths of real property, before and behind him, was entitled to be present before court.[1] The frequent recurrence of seven oaks as an essential number for a place of justice has been alluded to. Seven principal highways and seven free hedges had official recognition during the Middle Ages. A tax of seven pence was a proportionate rate for the celestial, and three for the terrestrial king.

This numeral also appears to have been a usual norm in military phraseology; for instance, seven spears, and as in the case of Alberich's scourge, seven knots hung from the handle.[2] In the above connection, seven knives were oftentimes designated in a mystical signification. Seven years was the legal limit for absolutely establishing terminal lines. The number was only resolvable into 4 + 3, and rarely added otherwise.[3]

Of all the numerals to which reference has been made as claiming an undoubted integral combination in the symbolism of lodge ritualism, the triadic is unqualifiedly the most significant and certainly most archaic. As we have seen, this norm had especial importance when applied to the ordinary symbols of court proceeding in matters affecting the transfer of real estate. It has descended to the Freemasons of our day with much of the original characteristics with which it was invested. The same may be said of the numeral 7, although this, as a fundamental norm, is not so prominently marked, neither does it occur so frequently. In Masonic work, the triad retains the mystical signification of an ancient religious culture, celebrated by a Pagan priesthood amid the oppressive gloom of primeval oaks or within the walls of a consecrated temple, illuminated by sacrificial fires, burning with unextinguishable flame, before the heathen trinity of Asgard.

[1] Grimm, *Rechts Alterthümer*, p. 213.

[2] *Das Niebelungen Lied*, Str. 464.

[3] Grimm, *op. cit.*, p. 214.

CHAPTER XXIX.

MEDIÆVAL AND MASONIC OBLIGATIONS — VIRTUE INHERENT IN MATERIAL — SCANDINAVIAN FETICHISM — SQUARE, GAUGE, AND COMPASS: WHY USED IN ANCIENT OATH — RIGHT HAND IN SWEARING — OATH BY THE JEWISH JEHOVAH — ANTIQUITY OF THE WORD "HAIL," OR "HALE" — FROM A TEUTONIC ROOT, SIGNIFYING CONCEALMENT — ITS USE IN OATH OF MIDDLE AGES — PUNISHMENT FOR TEMPLE BREAKING — OTHER PENALTIES — CORD, ITS SYMBOLISM — THE SHOE — INSTALLATION PROCESSION.

APALLIRER or Warden elect, according to the practice prevailing among the mediæval Masons, previous to his installation, obligated himself by placing the hand upon a gauge and square,[1] which were apparently conjoined. These implements, symbolized at an early age to typify uprightness and moral rectitude,[2] were, in such solemnities, used in inducting the officers mentioned into their duties.

The custom of touching an object with the hand, and particularly the right hand, in formal swearing, was universally followed during the Middle Ages[3] — a usage which has survived to modern times — and sometimes, by way of additional attestation, the hand is placed upon the breast or heart.[4]

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[1] Er soll In die Pallirerschafft befehlen und die eid strebe mit maszstabe zu der Heyligen. *Ordnung der Steinmetzen vom Yahre* 1462, Art. 18.

[2] Vide p. 225, supra.

[3] Der schwörende muste indem er die eidesformel hersagte einen gegenstand berühnend. Grimm, *D. R. A.*, p. 895. Imponant manus suas in epistolas. *Leg. Rachis Reg.*, c. 4; Rogge, *Das Gerichtswesen der Germanen*, p. 133. For symbolical use of hand, see Jennings, *The Rosicrucians*, pp. 118, 166.

[4] Heinecci, *Antiquitates Germanicae*, Tome III., p. 263.

In the symbolic appliances of lodge ritual, the objects, or at least the implements, which consecrate the usual oaths, there is an unequivocal recognition of a hidden power contained within them, which has descended from Norse mythology, and savors of Fetichism. Baldur, the good deity, *par excellence*, having dreamed that some evil was about to befall him, communicated his fears to the other divinities; whereupon Frey exacted an oath from all things, animate and inanimate, from stones, iron, and other metals, that none of them would injure the divine dreamer.[1] This, however, failed to meet the emergency, for the mistletoe, being overlooked on account of its apparent insignificance, was the cause of Baldur's death.[2] In order to secure his release from Hela, the gods dispatched messengers throughout the universe to implore all things, great and small, living or lifeless, to bewail and weep for the martyred divinity.[3] Here, therefore, we find a direct acknowledgment of an inherent power existing in matter, animate or inanimate. This idea, originating with the Scandinavian deities, was of especial importance for the Norseman, and contributed, by the skilful manipulation of the priesthood, to moulding oath-formularies, and invested objects used, in consequence of the divine recognition, with peculiar significance. Everything adopted for this purpose was presumed to be endowed with a high degree of holiness, and to such extreme was this conception carried, that a slave or bondman was debarred from the oath in its prescribed form.[4]

[1] Elder Edda, *Vegtamskvidha*, Str. 1, and *Gylfaginning*, c. 49.

[2] *Gylfaginning*, c. 49; Simrock, *Deutsche Mythologie*, p. 71; Mallet, *Northern Antiquities*, p. 447.

[3] *Gylfaginning*, c. 49; Simrock, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

[4] Bestimmte eide durften nur von freien, nicht von Knechten und nur von maenner, nicht von frauen geschworen werden. Grimm, *Deutsche Rechts Alterthümer*, p. 894. No sufficient reason appears why women were rejected from taking legal and formal oaths; but the absolute exclusion of the sex from lodges of Masons may, perhaps, rest upon this preëmptory usage. However,

A germinal truth may be concealed beneath this mediæval usage, which, if developed, might materially assist in solving the cause of the landmark rejecting this class of candidates for Masonic degrees, and ultimately lead to a solution of their inability, in ancient times, to take the obligation of a freeman.

It was an almost invariable practice among the Norse nations to take the most sacred oaths with the face turned towards the rising sun,[1] and with the hand and fingers upraised. In the Saemund Edda, an oath was taken with the face to the southern sun.[2] As previously stated, these obligations were assumed with the hand resting upon, or touching, some material object. In nearly all cases this substance was adapted to the particular custom of a province, or was any animate or inanimate thing readily procured. Pagans swore with the hand grasping a blood-smeared ring; Christians obligated themselves by the cross, relicts of saints, by the book (missal) and bell; the latter was in consecrated use during ecclesiastic services.[3] Ancient Scandinavians swore upon their swords, frequently by grass and trees, as appears from the following citation:

> Glasgerion swore a full grete othe,
> By oake and ashe and thorne.[4]

Oaths were attested also by water, fountains, and streams, by rocks, cliffs, and stones — the latter sometimes white;[5] but the most sacred and binding obligation was made upon

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they were admitted to full membership in social and religious guilds of the Middle Ages.

[1] Gein der sunnen, juramentum versus orientem. Grimm, *op. cit.*, p. 895.

[2] *Atlakvida*, Str. 30.

[3] *Atlakvida*, Str. 30. Uller's ring. *Ibid.* The formal use of relicts by Christian Europe, in oaths, was evidently derived from the Egyptians, who were also accustomed to swearing by the dead. Gyraldus, *De vario Sepelendi Ritu*, p. 379. Also known to the Romans. Sueton., *Vita Augusti*, c. 98. Hujus Masgabae ante annum defuncti, tumulum cum animadvertisset magna turba, etc. Early Christians swore upon the relicts. Gyraldus, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

[4] Percy, *Reliques of Ancient Poetry.* [5] *Gudrûnarkvidha thridhja*, Str. 3.

a blue stone altar.[1] Ancient Northmen swore upon Thor's hammer.[2]

It was no unusual thing for persons solemnly to attest an oath by the beard, hair, and eyes, or with the hand upon vestments.[3] A judicial obligation was administered by touching the judge's staff of office. And for the same reason that warriors swore by the sword,[4] also other people, in the less exciting spheres of domestic life, used ordinary house furniture. For example, travellers grasped the wagon-wheel, and horsemen their stirrups; sailors rested the hand upon the ship's railing.[5] Operative masons, or stonecutters, of the Middle Ages, perpetuated the Scandinavian custom of swearing upon common utensils, and used their tools in the solemn formality of an obligation — a usage still adhered to by the modern craft.

The right hand was considered indispensable, in mediæval oaths, to seize or touch the consecrated object.[6] Frequently, the hand was upraised, in order to bring it in contact with the material object sworn by, and at the same time kneeling, divested of hat and weapons, was an essential element in the ceremony of assuming an oath.[7]

Ancient Jews called upon the holy name in attestation of the solemnity of their obligation, with the hand placed indifferently above or beneath the thigh.[8] But the most

[1] Heiligen Steinen, gewöhnlich blauen, wurden den Eide abgelegt, etc. Simrock, *Deutsche Mythologie*, p. 475. In the midst of the court enclosure, a stone —blue, usually—was erected, upon which sacrifices were offered. *Ibid.*, p. 485.

[2] Grimm, *Deutsche Rechts Alterthümer*, p. 897.

[3] Rogge, *Das Gerichtswesen der Germanen*, p. 176.

[4] Strictum gladium fidelitatis juramento praestito. Olaus Mag., *Hist. Septr. ac var. Condit*, Lib. VIII., c. 10. *Völundarkvidha*, Str. 31. Rogge, *op. cit.*, p. 175, etc.

[5] Ship's rail, shield, horse's bit, etc. Vide *Völundarkvidha*, Str. 31; also, Grimm, *op. cit.*, p. 899. Heinecci, *Antiquitates Germanicae*, Tome III., p. 263.

[6] *Niebelungen Lied*, Sts. 562–3, 803.

[7] Der schwörende waffen, helm oder hut vorher nieder zu legen und zu knien. Grimm, *Deut. Rechts Alterthümer*, p. 903.

[8] Joseph, *Antiq. Judae.*, Lib. I., cap. xv. In this oath there is the relict of a well-defined priapic formula, viz., swearing upon the *Lingam*. Westropp and Wake, *Ancient Symbol Worship*, pp. 30–35.

impressive oath taken by the Israelites, was that in and by the sacred name Jehovah.[1]

In Masonic ritualism, the word "hail" is invariably used. Hail, conceal, never reveal, form a triad. The original signification of the first-named word has long since passed away. With the exception, perhaps, of the Master's mallet or gavel, no portion of regular lodge appurtenances is so clearly and satisfactorily traceable to a Saxon or Teutonic source. "Hail" occurs in an alliterative form in mediæval oaths, and meant concealment. In this sense it is now to be understood.

The formula of judicial obligations during the Middle Ages was as follows: "will *bewaren*, *helen* und *halten*," or an older form: "Ik will *helen* und *höden*." About the ninth century, a phraseology similar to the one preceding

[1] It was necessary to swear a Jew before court by this name. Praeceptum est ut cuicunque praestandum fuerit in Foro juramentum, is juret per nomen Dei. Selden, *De Synedriis Veterum Ebraeorum*, p. 829. Detached parts of the word might be interchanged between persons and have the binding signification of an oath. Maimonides, *More Nevochim*, Part I., cap. 59. In a remote epoch, the sacred word evidently constituted an important element in Masonic obligations. Its use now, however, is limited to lodges in the form of an initial. Initiates into Norse guilds took the obligation under the light of a taper. Omnes qui entrant gildam jurent super candelam prout lex dictaverit. *Stat. Conviv. St. Eric*, § 44. No doubt, the ancient Scandinavians attested very solemn oaths under the invocation of light, and subsequently transmitted the practice to the guild of Freemasons, — fire being cultivated as a symbol of deity. Ignem, quia omni sacrificia praefertur. Olaus Magnus, *Hist. Septr. ac var. Cond.*, Lib. III., cap. 7. Vide Schauberg, *Symbolik der Freimaurerei*, Bd. I., p. 277. From the numerous references to payment of penalties incurred, by wax, both among the mediæval Masons and secular guilds, it is evident burning tapers were used in initiatory ceremonies and in the obligations. Wilda, *Das Gilden Wesen des Mittelalters*, p. 118. The guilds of the Middle Ages followed closely the customs and perpetuated unchanged many rites of their Pagan ancestors. In a return of St. John the Baptist's Guild, it is ordered that, "ye Den shal gedren ye forseyde half penys and by wyhtal bread and gyve hit for ye soule"— to the poor. Smith, *English Guilds*, pp. 110–112. The wyhtal or wastel is derived from the Teutonic *veitsla*, feast, and wastel bread being that which was uniformly given away, in ancient times, to the guests.

was in use: "ich schwere das ich will *verwahren, hüten* und *helen*." A judge swore: "das heilige geheimnisse zu *hüten* und zu *helen*." A very antique Frisian oath contained the word *hellen*.[1] The lines cited signify: "I swear the secrets to conceal (helen) hold and not reveal."

In the ancient Anglo-Saxon poem of Beowulf,[2] "helen" is used in the sense of concealing:

Under heofenes hôdor
Beholen weorded.

King Alfred's translation of Paul Orosius' history[3] contains this word "helan," and is always adopted as a vigorous expression for secrecy. In its present application, "hail" or "helan" is totally divested of signification; but taken collectively with the entire trilogy, the meaning clearly asserts itself to be an intensive repetition of "conceal and not reveal."

Penalties inflicted upon convicts of certain grades during the Middle Ages, were terrible and inhuman.

The most cruel punishment awaited him who broke into

[1] Schwur das heilige geheimniss zu helen, hüten u. verwahren, vor mann, vor weib, vor dorf, vor trael, vor stok, vor stein, vor grasz, vor klein, auch vor queck. Grimm, *Deutsche Rechts Alterthümer*, pp. 52, 53. Whoever will collate the foregoing triplets with the oath administered in the Entered Apprentice's Degree, cannot fail to avow that both have emanated from a high antiquity, if not from an identical source. In some cases, the ancient Teutonic obligation was "staved," that is, originally lettered upon a staff in poetic form, and numbers of these constituted rhyme staves. On these, for greater solemnity, the obligor was sworn. Simrock, *Deutsche Mythologie*, p. 517. Much discussion has been had touching the age of the oath directly involved in the text. Vide Krause, *Die Drei ältesten Kunsturkunden der Freimaurer*, Bd. I., Ab. 1, p. 348, etc., who denies its venerable character. The phraseology, and especially *hail* or *hale*, are too archaic and far too deeply rooted in the past to admit of a rational controversy.

[2] "Under heaven's serenity,
Is concealed—" Str. 831, 832.

[3] Thorpe's *Glossary, sub voce, helan.* This word is cognate with verhehlen, to conceal. A simple form of oath, prior to initiation, in Lansdowne MSS., No. 1942, St. 31. Hughan, *Old Masonic Charges*, p. 57.

and robbed a Pagan temple. According to a law of the Frisians, such desecration was redressed by dragging the criminal to the sea-shore and burying the body at a point in the sands where the tide daily ebbed and flowed.[1]

A creditor was privileged to subject his delinquent debtor to the awful penalty of having the flesh torn from his breast and fed to birds of prey. Convicts were frequently adjudged by the ancient Norse code to have their hearts torn out.[2]

The oldest death penalties of the Scandinavians prescribed that the body should be exposed to fowls of the air to feed upon.[3] Sometimes it was decreed that the victim be disembowelled, his body burnt to ashes and scattered as dust to the winds.[4] Judges of the secret Vehmgericht passed sentences of death as follows: "Your body and flesh to the beasts of the field and to the birds of the air, to the fishes in the stream."[5] The judicial executioner, in carrying into effect this decree, severed the body in twain, so that, to use the literal text, "the air might strike together between the two parts." The tongue was oftentimes torn out as a punishment.[6] A cord[7]

[1] Qui fanum effregerit et ibi aliquid de sacris tulerit, *ducitur ad mare et in sabulo quod accessus maris operire solet. Lex Frision. Add. Sap.*, Tit. 12. Vide Wirth, *Geschichte der Deutschen*, Bd. I., p. 193.

[2] Grimm, *Deutsche Rechts Alterthümer*, p. 690.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 693.

[4] Sein fleisch und blut zu äschen und pulver brennen. *Ibid.*, p. 700.

[5] Dein leib und fleisch den thieren in den wäldern, den vögelen in den lüften. *Ibid.*, p. 40, etc.; Scherr, *Deutsche Cultur*, p. 189; Lacroix, *Les Moeurs et Usages au Moyen Age*, p. 421.

[6] Recisâ prius *lingua*, quam in manu tenens barbarus. Anne. Flor., *Rer. Roman.*, Lib. IV., cap. xii. A law of the early Roman Empire, known as *ex Jure Orientis Cæsareo*, enacted that any person, suitor at law or witness, having sworn upon the evangelists, and proving to be a perjurer, should have the tongue cut from its roots: Testi seu Litigatori, qui in Foro, tactis Sacrosantis Dei Evangeliis juraverit et dein perjurus esse probatus fuerit, *lingua praecidítor*. Selden, *De Synedriis Veterum Ebraeorum*, p. 843. Full text in *Ecloga Leonis et Constantini*, Tit. 28, § 2.

[7] In the Vehmgericht a cord was used as an emblem of chastisement. Lacroix, *Les Moeurs et Usages*, p. 420.

about the neck was used symbolically, in criminal courts, to denote that the accused was worthy of the extreme penalty of law by hanging or decapitation. When used upon the person of a freeman, it signified a slight degree of subjection or servitude.[1]

In the more ancient Northern legal code, a shoe was the symbol of adoption and legitimation. It was sent by powerful rulers to inferior princes as a sign of subjection.[2] Under some circumstances this article was carried on the shoulder of a person, whose foot was bare, as typical of humiliation. Formal divestiture of the shoe, among Teutonic nations of the Middle Ages, was a symbolical surrender of title and claim to property.[3]

In this respect the Jewish, or rather Israelitish, and Germanic emblem involved in the use of a shoe perfectly agrees. For instance, in the fourth Book of Ruth, seventh verse, it is said the owner of certain land "plucked off his shoe and gave it to Boas," which was a legal attestation in Israel of a valid transfer of property. In both nationalities the rite of discalceation, in its widest signification, was symbolized to mean a total relinquishing of personal claim, and complete humiliation and subjection.[4] Northern kings, immediately upon acceding to the throne,

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[1] Grimm, *Deutsche Rechts Alterthümer*, pp. 184, 714. Thus symbolized, perhaps, from the string holding in check the people surrounding the sacred enclosure of courts. Ancient Teutons wore bands, as token of humiliation, until an enemy's death released them. Tacitus, *Germania*, cap. 31. Connected with the Norse *vebönd*. Vide Simrock, *Deutsche Mythologie*, p. 492.

[2] Murecardo regi Hiberniae misit calciamenta sua ut inde intelligeret se subjectum magno regi esse. Olaus Magnus. Also, Du Cange, *sub v.*, calceamenta. Nudatum pedes e discalceatis suppliciter. *Sax. Grammati*, Lib. IX., p. 175. Vide Du Cange, *Glosso. Med. et Infim. Lat.* voce *Calceamenta*.

[3] Grimm, *op. cit.*, p. 156.

[4] Symbolical in the Eddas. Vide *Harbardhsliódh*, Str. 34; *Gylfag.*, Str. 51. Loki's shoes divest the Niflung of their blood-stained treasure. *Skalda.*, cc. 35, 39, 42. Sign of humility, and, in marriage, perfected possession of the bride. Simrock, *ut supra*, pp. 124, 571.

made a "gait," or procession about their realms.[1] According to the Scandinavian laws, when real property was sold, granted, or conveyed, the transfer of possession was incomplete until a circuit was made around the estate by the buyer and vendor, in which tour all the inhabitants of the nearest hamlet united.[2] Frequently this prescriptive assumption of legal ownership of land was performed by a procession marching in regular order around the boundary of purchased limits or otherwise acquired property.

This usage was imitated from the royal gait, or Erik's gait, referred to. With his usual accuracy, Grimm[3] traces this word to *rikisgata*, synonymous with royal roads, and thus called by reasor of the monarch confining his tour to public highways.

During the installation ceremonies of the Master of a Masonic lodge, a procession of all the craftsmen march around the room before the Master, to whom an appropriate salute is tendered. This circuit is designed to signify that the new incumbent reduces the lodge to his possession in this symbolic manner.

Under the Gothic code, whenever a murder or assassination was committed, the dead body was usually brought before open court, where a prescribed formula was carefully observed in the accusation and defence. The legal complaint was generally set forth by the deceased's blood kin. When the tribunal had convened, the plaintiffs or prosecutors of the criminal charged with the crime strode into the court enclosure and made three cries of lamentation,

[1] Geijer, *History of Sweden*, Vol. I., p. 87. Also, custom of the Teutonic races. Chlotharius, after the death of Theodovaldi, marched in procession around his newly-acquired kingdom: cum regnum Franciae suscepisset circumiret, *Gregorius Turonesis*, Lib. IV., c. 14.

[2] Geijer, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

[3] *Deutsche Rechts Alterthümer*, p. 238. A procession was formed, and joined by the people, when a church was consecrated, and marched around the building three times. Fallou, *Mysterien der Freimaurer*, p. 243.

each of which was accompanied with drawing forth a sword and raising it above the head.[1]

In Friesland the clameur was *wraek*, *wraek*, *wraek*, vengeance, vengeance, vengeance. Sometimes these solemn and thrice-repeated agonizing cries were given at the grave of the buried dead, surrounded by sorrowing kinsmen, amid the impressive flashing of uplifted swords.[2]

[1] Traten streitgerüstet auf, dreimaliges wehgeschrei erhebend zogen sie dreimal die schwerter aus. Grimm, *D. R. A.*, p. 878. It was evidently in the pursuance of this legal right that Kriemhild was induced to avenge the death of Siegfried, slain by treachery. Hagan's approach to the bier upon which the valiant warrior lay, in the majestic repose of an eternal slumber, according to the legend, reopened the wounds, and thus detected the traitor. *Das Niebelungen Lied*, Str. 1077. Vide Wilmar, *Literatur Geschichte*, p. 69.

[2] Sondern ueber dem Grab des todten geschehen. Grimm, *ut supra*, pp. 878, 879.

CHAPTER XXX.

MASONS' MARKS OF THE EARLY AND MIDDLE AGES — THEIR PRACTICAL USE — GREAT DIVERSITY — THEIR STYLE, ORIENTAL — NOT ALWAYS SYMBOLICAL — THE CROSS SIGN — MALLET, SHOE, AND TROWEL — MARKS USED TO DISTINGUISH PROPERTY — ARE OF A GEOMETRIC OUTLINE — SQUARES, CIRCLES, COMPASSES, AND TRIANGLES — EARLY APPLICATION BY BYZANTINE BUILDERS — MEMORIAL SQUARE — COLUMNS OF JOACHIN AND BOAZ — THEIR EVIDENT SYMBOLISM — SAINT MARC'S CATHEDRAL AND MARKS — BUILDERS' SIGNS IN PALESTINE IDENTICAL WITH EUROPEAN — MARKS A PORTION OF MEDIÆVAL LODGE RITUAL — WHEN CONFERRED — NOT TO BE CHANGED — MUST BE ENROLLED.

THE mediæval operative Masons have left behind them lasting monuments of their skill and perseverance. The vast structures which attest their skill and architectural knowledge, with rare exceptions, as early as the tenth century, also contain the definitive mementoes of a systematic labor.

Masons' marks are visible in an infinite variety on the walls of nearly all the cathedrals of Europe, and are suggestive of a connection which existed, immediately preceding and during the Middle Ages, between the Eastern and Western builders. A contribution to the *Archæologia*,[1] in commenting upon Didron, *Sec. du Comité Historique des Arts et Monuments*, urges that these marks frequently betray a symbolic character. This view is mainly, perhaps, a correct one, although the geometric outlines used for this signification should not be accepted without qualification.

[1] Vol. XXX., p. 116.

The primary object of a Masonic token was to afford a reliable means of distinguishing the work of each artisan, in order that he might receive just and suitable compensation.

The earliest marks indicate a near connection with the Orient at a period when the symbolizing tendencies of Byzantine architects were carried from the Eastern to the Western empire, and propagated there by those workmen called to assist in erecting and rebuilding Christian churches of Italy, almost continuously from the age of Theoderich the Goth,[1] in the fifth century, to the close of the eleventh.

I have already noted the universal application of symbolism by the early Grecian churches, where Christ was represented in plastic art as a lamb, signifying the Good Shepherd; also the typical use of the dove holding an olive branch, a symbol of peace. But the most frequent emblem was a fish, the ἰχθυς.[2] This figure was hewn upon the sacred edifices of Greece, not so much, perhaps, as a builder's token as a type of our Saviour. During the Middle Ages a fish-shaped[3] character was frequently used by operative Masons as a proprietary sign.

Little doubt seems to exist that the symbolical appliances to ecclesiastical architecture in Europe, subsequent to the introduction of Byzantine corporations, were mainly derived from those artificers. It is equally true, I apprehend, that the Oriental builders distinguished individual workmanship, at a remote period, by a system of distinctive and personal tokens.

The earliest authentic attestation of this assumption is to be found upon the cathedral walls of Saint Marc's, in

[1] Stieglitz, *Geschichte der Baukunst*, p. 423.

[2] Ottfried Mueller, *Archæologie der Kunst*, p. 233; Didron, *Christian Iconography*, pp. 244, *et seq.*

[3] Sometimes denominated *vesica piscinum*. See Hawkins, *Origin and Hist. of Gothic Architect.*, p. 244, for a singular notion of this figure in its relation to art.

Venice, constructed towards the end of the tenth century. From the position occupied by the geometric marks under consideration, it may be correctly inferred they were incised immediately after the building was begun, which would evidently antedate them to a more ancient epoch. The entire character of this structure is Byzantine, and was built by corporations of Greek architects, brought from Greece by the Venetian government for that purpose. Builders' marks alluded to are carved upon columns leading to the main entrance, and, in essential particulars, are identical with those abundantly used at a later period by mediæval Masonic guilds.

It has been asserted[1] that the Master or supervising architect had one class of monogram characters, and the craft at large another, but I apprehend this to be erroneous, because the tablets still extant preserving such signs fail to disclose the distinction claimed. Occasionally, many marks have a significance independent of their practical application. For instance, the cross was, as is well known, adopted, at an early age, as a Christian emblem, and was perpetuated as a Masonic symbol-mark[2] down to the extinction of Freemasonry as an operative body.

Numerous geometric signs manifestly refer to their mystical connection with lodge ritual. Of this class the mallet,[3] shoe, trowel, interlaced compasses, and five-pointed star, frequently appear in an esoteric sense. The mallet had a more profound symbolism attached to its use than the mere definitive designation of artistic work.[4]

In the preceding pages the symbol of the Master's gavel, as typical of power and strength, has been elaborated at

[1] *Archæologia*, Vol. XXX., p. 116. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 118.

[3] This sign was anciently used in guildic cup consecrations, as an invocation of Thor, and consequently its magical properties were shared by Masonic guilds. Vide Wilda, *Das Gilden Wesen des Mittelalters*, p. 9; *Archæologia*, Vol. XXX., p. 116. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 118.

length to be the legitimate successor of Miölner, or hammer of Thor, the Scandinavian thunder god. This hammer sign was of extensive and widespread application as a potent charm to avert the mighty thunderbolt of the Norse deity. As previously noted, it was placed on church bells for similar purpose, and this was, perhaps, the design in cutting the mallet token on cathedral walls, —both unequivocal relics of Teutonic superstition. One of these incisions — a cross cramponee (Fig. 1), or two inter-

Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.

Fig. 3.

secting straight lines with angled arms — is hewn on the minster at Basel. A similar sign is visible on the Oschatz city chapel, constructed in the sixteenth century.[1] The church of St. Radigonde, in France, displays a like character, and is an evident allusion to Thor's sacrificial hammer. It is noteworthy that the same formal indentation presents itself in the Catacombs, on a fossor's dress,[2] — and also upon a Roman altar discovered at Resingham, in England, the cross cramponee has been found.[3]

On one of the British monumental brasses, of so early a

[1] Stieglitz, *Geschichte der Baukunst*, p. 615. Das Christenthum traf hier mit dem Heidenthum in demselben Zeichen zusammen: es ist das Zeichen des Kreuzes, das auch den Hammer Thôr's und die Rune Tyr, bedeutete. Simrock, *Deutsche Mythologie*, p. 269; also, Wilda, *Das Gilden Wesen des Mittelalters*, p. 9. In an ancient conjuration formula, the potency of this token is recognized: † Jesus Nazarenus † rex Judaeorum † non percuties eos qui signati sunt hoc signo Thau. Thor's hammer mark in Tower of London. Jennings, *The Rosicrucians*, p. 243.

[2] Görling, *Geschichte der Mahlerei*, Bd. I., p. 66.

[3] *Archæologia*, Vol. XXX., p. 119.

date as the year 1235, a mallet is engraven, surmounting a double triangle, on one side of which stands a star, and on the other a half moon, the whole being surrounded by a perfect circle (Fig. 2). According to the conjecture of a contributor to English archæology,[1] it was the badge of a Masonic guild. The writer referred to[2] gives an engraving of a circular seal, of remote date, used by the fraternity of Masons, in which the gavel is flanked by a star and half moon (Fig 3).

Marks of the craft usually consisted of a geometric figure composed of straight lines, angles, and curvatures, and, notwithstanding this apparent paucity of elements, the combinations are of an infinite variety. The most ancient are very simple, and arranged on pure geometrical tracery. Stieglitz[3] suggests that the secret details of Masonic art were concealed by these slight outlines; but this assumption gives an exalted importance to what was clearly a means of assisting the Master of lodges to distinguish each craftsman's work.

It can scarcely be accredited that the vast art knowledge made necessary in the progress of a highly skilled and practical labor, was written out, so to speak, upon granite walls, or incised upon chiselled pilasters, in these characters. No doubt, the essential elements of architecture were inculcated by means of mathematical tracery, upon the same principle that geometry itself is alone demonstrable by figured outlines.

I am inclined to the belief that these marks were for the practical purpose of distinction, although in numerous cases a hidden meaning, as, for instance, in the mallet, shoe, and fish, was involved beyond the mere definitive nature of the sign. It is barely possible that a Mason's mark was invariably symbolized, and conveyed a secret signification to the craft utterly unintelligible to the uninitiated.

[1] Ibid., *loc. cit.* [2] *Ibid.* [3] *Geschichte der Baukunst*, p. 615.

These signs were by no means of the monogrammatic style similar to the initials adopted by artists or portrait painters, nor were they, as Mr. Paly[1] erroneously asserts, a resemblance to spurious heraldic badges called merchants' marks, although occasionally the master architect seems to have engraved his mark as builder on an escutcheon. One of this kind is in a tolerable state of preservation in Melrose abbey. Above the door leading to a stairway a shield is carved in relief, displaying two pairs

Fig. 4.

Fig. 5.

of compasses (Fig. 4), with an almost obliterated inscription, in quaint Gothic letters, which may be read thus:

"So gays ye compass evene about,
So truth and laute do but doubte,
Beholde to ye hende quath,
JOHN MURUO."

The only remaining instance of the use of a heraldic badge by a builder, of which I am aware, is at Cologne. This work is in the nature of double interlaced squares (Fig. 5), hewn on an embossed escutcheon, springing from one of the columns which support the superstructure of the grand old cathedral. However, the use of this architectural heraldry is rare, and does not properly belong to legitimate Masonic works. Oftentimes sculptured human figures, in

[1] *Manual of Gothic Architecture*, pp. 208, 209. Paly informs us, *loc. cit.*, that "he is assured, by a member of the present body which perpetuates the name, that they (the marks) are identical with those still in use, though he may be allowed to doubt whether his informant really ever saw an ancient one, for, *in England they are extremely rare.*" In the ensuing dissertation, frequent allusion will be made to churches and cathedrals of Great Britain and Europe, from which the author has transcribed many of the marks referred to in the text.

their attitudes, refer directly to esoteric rites still current among Freemasons.

In a representation of the Last Supper, in a church of Lower Mecklinberg, Germany, the apostles are presented in postures familiar to the craft.[1] Two full-sized images over the main entrance to the York minster are grouped in Masonic attitudes, one of which holds a rough ashlar, the other a perfect ashlar. Above these figures two others are visible, in a kneeling posture, with the right hands resting on some material object, and the left arm, angled at the elbow, upraised toward heaven. In each of the three canopied niches, wrought with elegance and skill, in the aspiring turrets surmounting the side entrance to the Duomo of Florence, a martyred saint appears in a position of unmistakable significance to the initiate eye.[2]

As previously stated, Masons' marks consisted of a geometric outline. The most usual are angles (Fig 6) and

Fig 6.

Fig. 7.

Fig. 8.

Fig. 9.

Fig. 10.

squares, although the circle, with segmentary arcs inscribed, is of frequent occurrence. In the Gloucester cathedral, inside the nave, a perfect triangle is carved; the same character is visible in Furness' abbey. In the interior of St. Pierre, at Poitiers, a triple triangle (Fig. 7), united at a common centre, still exists in a fine state of preservation. St. Radigonde chapel possesses a double interwined triangle

[1] Findel, *Geschichte der Freimaurerei*, p. 75.

[2] *Vide* frontispiece.

(Fig. 8), resembling a six-pointed star.[1] The church of St. Pierre, in Geneva, said to have been erected in the eleventh century, contains an equilateral triangle and a five-pointed star (Fig. 9) — the pentalpha. On the façade of Santa Croce, Florence, two blazing stars are sculptured; but the most curious token in this cathedral is over the main portal — it is the figure of Christ holding a perfect square (Fig. 10) in his hand. In York minster, several marks, composed of double triangles (Fig. 11) conjoined at

Fig. 11. Fig. 12. Fig. 13. Fig. 14. Fig. 15.

the outer edges, are visible on the stone pavement leading to the crypt. The author has in his possession a Masonic mark taken from this cathedral, forming the letter M; and also one, originally part of a mullion in Selby abbey — a triangle (Fig. 12) with elongated lines. A pentalpha (Fig. 13) occurs on the ruined walls of St. Mary's abbey, at York; also two interlaced squares. Fountain's abbey presents an infinite diversity of these signs, displaying nearly every variety of lines and circles, which, combined, form angles and squares, crosses and segments of arcs.

There is a curious triangle (Fig. 14) of frequent recurrence in the great cathedrals of Europe — strictly equilateral, with a dot or point in the centre, equi-distant from the sides. One of this style is carved on the interior of the Cologne minster. Another of similar type, inside the edifice, is surmounted with a figure 4 (Fig. 15).

Upon the pilasters flanking the entrance to St. Marc's cathedral, at Venice, built, as before stated, by Byzantine workmen, the marks exhibit the same unvarying characters of angles and circles which so frequently present them-

[1] *Archæologia*, Vol. XXX., Pl. vi.-xi. In nearly every instance, the writer has verified the marks given in this volume by personal presence.

selves in European churches. A double triangle (Fig. 16), here visible, is mounted by a straight line, with intersecting lines at the top, which give it the appearance of the feathered end of an arrow. This Masonic indentation is widespread and numerous. The church of St. Pierre, Geneva (Fig. 17), has one engraved on an interior supporting column. Numbers of identical shape are found in Fountain's

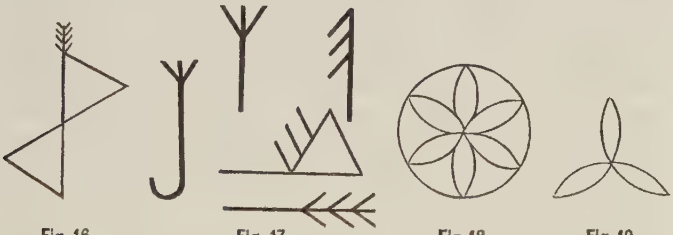

Fig. 16. Fig. 17. Fig. 18. Fig. 19.

abbey. The perfect circle (Fig. 18), with a segmentary six-pointed star inscribed, is also chiselled on a pillar in Saint Marc's. A three-pointed star (Fig. 19), of exactly similar design, may be seen both at Fountain's and Selby abbeys, and in the church of Saint Pierre.

Throughout Germany, from Dusseldorf to the Alps, the churches and other sacred edifices bear unmistakable evidence of the handicraft of our ancient builders.[1] A curious memorial mark is still extant in the cathedral at Gloucester. It consists of a perfect square, with battlements, and springs horizontally from the side wall. The dimensions are three feet two inches in length, by two feet two inches in breadth.

Tradition says the master builder, being highly incensed at an apprentice Mason who had failed to work conformably to his instructions, hurled him from the scaffolding to the marble pavement below. To commemorate this

[1] Une compagnie de francs-maçons qui ont marqué de leurs signatures hieroglyphiques les pierres, de ce monument ainsi, que toutes celles qu'ils ont taillés dans la vallée du Rhin depuis Dusseldorf jusqu'aux Alpes. Lacroix, *Les Arts au Moyen Age*, p. 365.

terrible death, the Master caused this projecting square to be built. On one of the columns supporting the principal entrance to the Freiburg church, a life-sized statue of King Solomon is elevated, with a mace in one hand and his head covered with a mitred crown.

Saint Margaret's church, at York, presents curious figures embossed in a concave circle in the arched doorways. One of these images apparently stands before an altar with upraised arms. This personage, according to the conjecture of a learned antiquary,[1] is most worshipful King Solomon himself. His head-dress contains a triad (Fig. 6),[2] or equilateral triangle, which the writer alluded to interprets to signify the three attributes of that illustrious monarch, viz.: wisdom, strength, and beauty. This portico, which is much older than the main building, was constructed about the eleventh century.

Stieglitz[3] and Fallou[4] have furnished engravings of two

[1] Browne, *An Attempt to Ascertain the Age of the Porch of St. Margaret's Church*, p. 14.

[2] This figure was known to the ancients and symbolized by the Pythagoreans as a type of plenty. Creuzer, *Symbolik und Mythologie der Alten Voelker*, Bd. I., p. 277. Pythagoras divided the triangle into six parts, collectively representing the elements. *Ibid.*, Bd. III., p. 369. Among the Egyptians, was emblematic of the incarnation of Osiris and Apis. *Ibid.*, Bd. I., p. 423. Creuzer, *op. et loc. cit.*, says the Mithraic mysteries were introduced into Germany in the fourth century, by Roman legions. He also conjectures, from the pentagon or five-pointed star being found on Gallic coins, that the doctrines of Pythagoras, at an early date, were transmitted and adopted by the Druids: Pythagorische Lehren zu den Druiden nach Gallien fortgepflanzt worden und das Pentagon auf Gallischen Münzen eine religioese Bedeutung hat. *Symbolik und Mythologie, etc.*, Bd. IV., p. 402. Egyptians symbolized their deities by a triangle, most usually by three lines or three human legs springing from a centre — called a Trinacria. It is of Asiatic origin. Payne Knight, *Inquiry into the Symbolic Language of the Ancients*, pp. 182, 183. Triangle basis of Wildred's work on Architecture. Luebke, *Geschichte der Plastik*, p. 335. Significance of triad. Vide Krause, *Die Drei œltesten Kunsturkunden*, Bd. I., Ab. 2, p. 419 (note). The double triad was of great potency among the early mediæval Jews. Ben Maimonides, *More Nevochim*, p. 119.

[3] *Beitrage zur Geschichte der Baukunst*, Bd. II., p. 112.

[4] *Mysterien der Freimaurer*, Tafel. II., Fig. 19.

symbolic columns, to which a remote antiquity is ascribed, copied from originals in the Wurzburg cathedral, founded by Bishop Henry, in the eleventh century. These pillars were evidently wrought by Grecian artificers, who, as previously stated, maintained in Germany a vigorous existence, in a corporate form, until the century just mentioned. They stand isolated and support no superstructure—distant from the main wall, at the side of a Gothic doorway. Unpretentious in appearance, carved out of dark brown stone, they afford a striking contrast with the bare, white wall of the cathedral.

That these columns did not originally belong to the edifice, Stieglitz has clearly demonstrated.[1] The new minster at Wurzburg, erected in place of one destroyed by a conflagration, was constructed by Bishop Henry as master builder of the work, in the early portion of the eleventh century. This second structure bears the following inscription: *Henricus me fecit*, and there is every reason to believe that these columns were raised with a typical design by that Master Mason. Henry was deeply skilled in the secret geometric arts of the craft, and there is no doubt that the pillars referred to were displayed to symbolize the mystical union of the mediæval builders. A square entablature surmounts these columns; on the outer edge of one stands forth, in nearly obliterated letters, the significant word, Jachin; on the inner edge of the other, is the name Boaz. It is noteworthy that the church erected by Bishop Henricus, as architect, was dedicated to Saint John, who thus early appears to have been a patron saint of operative Masons.[2]

The capitals or chapters of these columns were evidently a close imitation of their prototypes flanking the aisle of King Solomon's temple, and present the appearance of embossed intertwining of wreaths, leaves, fruits,[3] etc.

[1] *Geschichte der Baukunst*, p. 621.

[2] Stieglitz, *op. cit.*, p. 623.

[3] Such columns were frequently found at the side of entrances to old

The idea involved in these emblematic pillars seems to have been to portray to initiates the necessity of strong and enduring unity among the craftsmen; the principal element of cohesive power in the construction of edifices; the vertical and horizontal principles of geometric art, and the ever-recurring use of the square and level, the symbolism of which was rigidly preserved, as already stated, in lodge ritual. In them a direct recognition is made of the Judaistic elements in mediæval Masonic culture, — elements introduced apparently by Byzantine workmen, and readily assimilated by the Gothic artificers.

After a careful consideration of the subject of Mason's marks, I am strongly of the opinion that the system and style of incisions engraved by the mediæval craftsmen upon their material, are the result of a combination of proprietary regulations which existed at a very early age in both the Eastern and Latin empires; also, that these tokens were in use among the Byzantine corporations at the close of the fifth century. Although these marks in Europe do not with certainty appear earlier than the tenth century — as in the case of the geometric tracery on the columns of Saint Marc's — there is no reason to doubt a more ancient application of them. When it is remembered that few, if any, of the churches of Western Europe, of the time of Charlemagne or the Carlovingian dynasty, escaped the terrible devastations of barbaric warfare, religious zeal, the destructive energy of time and natural change, a satisfactory reason is furnished to solve the

churches. Fallou, *Mysterien der Freimaurer*, p. 216. Pillars for the Paderborn dome were prepared at the instigation of Bishop Meinwerk, in the beginning of the eleventh century, by Byzantine artisans, whom he imported for that purpose. Luebke, *Geschichte der Architectur*, p. 253. During the last century, in French lodges, these columns were placed due north and south, near the west entrance. According to the lecture, apprentices received their wages at the Column of Jachin, in the north, while Fellows were paid at the Pillar of Boaz, in the south. Les apprentis recevaient leur salaire à la colonne J.·., les compagnons à celle B.·., *et les maîtres, dans la chambre du Milieu. Regulateur du Maçon* (Grade de Mait.), p. 17.

problem why no authentic Masonic characters of a date prior to the tenth century have descended to our day. At all events, the earliest unquestioned Masonic marks are coeval with the era when Eastern builders conducted the principal architectural labors of Europe, and, as in the case of the Venetian edifice, have left undoubted evidence of their connection with the subsequently vast fraternity of operative Masons. The carved outlines on the pillars of Saint Marc's are, in all respects, analogous to the geometric characters constantly recurring with unvarying uniformity at a later period of the Middle Ages.

Similar marks, evidently for purposes of proprietary distinction, were used by Oriental artificers in very remote times. Those discovered in Palestine are an exact counterpart of the carvings which mediæval builders were accustomed to cut upon blocks of stone, worked up in the construction of great European cathedrals. At Sidon, in the ruined walls of the citadel, peculiar marks are visible, as, for instance, straight lines, angles, and crosses. Equilateral triangles occur frequently, and are, in all points, a prototype of those incised upon the churches of France and Germany.

By a mere possibility, these might be an accidental coincidence, but the steady recurrence of others of singular shape and construction evinces a regular, direct, and systematic uniformity existing between builders' signs in the East and those used in Western Europe. The intertwined angle or compass (Fig. 20) has been found at Sidon, together with a bisected triad (Fig. 21). Like combinations are visible in Fountain's abbey. Three intersecting straight lines are carved on a block in Sidon ; one of entire identity presents itself in the abbey mentioned. A plain cross of two intersecting lines appears, both on a fragmentary stone at Sidon, and on a freestone block at Fountain's abbey. The same indentation may be seen in Selby abbey. Three intersected lines (Fig. 22), the bisected angle, simple cross (Fig. 23), are also chiselled on the walls of Gloucester

cathedral, St. Mary's, at Radcliffe, Malmsbury cathedral, Furness abbey, and Cheetham college, Manchester. Interlaced compasses, precisely similar to those of Sidon, occur in the church of St. Pierre, France, and on an edifice in Cologne. The splendid ruins of Baalbec display a peculiar geometric mark, coinciding with the figure 4 (Fig. 24),

Fig. 20.

Fig. 21.

Fig. 22.

Fig. 23.

above alluded to, of which an exact counterpart is furnished by the Cologne minster. Innumerable squares and angles are hewn on separate stone blocks at Sidon, and betray a wonderful similarity to such Masonic incisions as are still to be seen in the cathedrals of Europe,— the unquestioned distinctive signs of our ancient craftsmen.

One Sidonian, or Phenician, character consists of a straight line, from the centre of which two lines diverge, forming the two sides of a right angle (Fig. 25). This mark is found at Cologne, and on the church walls of Saint Agnes, in Avignon. Among the curious discoveries made by the Palestine Exploration Company, are the foundations of King Solomon's temple at Jerusalem. On the lowest stones, upon which that structure was raised with Phenician skill, engraved tokens of peculiar shape and outline may be seen. Contrary to the custom of mediæval Freemasons, the temple builders appear to have carved more than one mark on each piece of work.

The system of multiplying the incisions on single blocks leads to a rational doubt as to the original design contemplated in engraving these marks on the temple foundations. That they should be classed generally under the denomination of builders' tokens, is a plausible inference, beyond which it is unsafe to venture. Two of these characters, however, resemble a Mason's mark at Fountain's abbey,

in shape similar to the letter H (Fig. 26). A simple cross, such as has been adverted to, is cut on a stone adjoining the marks mentioned, and is a counterpart of the two intersecting lines previously described. But one of these geometric figures is of a combination which induces the belief that its occurrence on the temple walls is far from

Fig. 24.

Fig. 25.

Fig. 26.

Fig. 27.

accidental. It is composed of a single line (Fig. 27), with one radiating from a central point, and at an oblique angle. One of this kind has been discovered at Sidon. Fountain's abbey contains numbers of a singularly exact identity, and one of like construction may be seen on a block of stone in St. Andrew's cathedral at Cologne.

It is in harmony with dispassionate judgment, divested of equivocal zeal, to assume, upon the facts produced in the preceding pages, that the signs found in distant and varied localities of Palestine were perpetuated by Byzantine architects, who, with art knowledge and Jewish traditions, contributed the formal geometric outlines and indentations to the substantial Teutonic system of proprietary marks.

The Sidonian incisions are of an infinite variety, and, throughout, an unvarying type of those universally used by operative Masons during the Middle Ages. When it is considered that the earliest application of these characters in Europe antedates the eleventh century, for instance, those of St. Marc's, and that this cathedral was erected by Byzantine artificers imported from Greece, I think the connecting chain will admit the rational assumption that builders' tokens were in use in Solomon's time,—tokens precisely identical with those carefully chiselled into polished stones by mediæval Masons, at a period when indisputable history permits us to reaffirm the traditions of the

craft. Masonic marks constituted an essential portion of lodge ritual during the Middle Ages.[1] With these, each stone delivered for inspection was indented, in order that the workmanship of the artisans might be properly distinguished. They were also regarded as a testimonial of honor; and each Entered Apprentice Mason was given a mark on his admission to the degree of a Fellow.[2] There is no doubt that the principle involved in a builder's mark of the Middle Ages had existed almost coeval with the Teutonic races.

Under the oldest judicial system, among the Norse nations, no rule was better established than the one which required the possessor of certain chattels, — for instance, horses, cattle, sheep, etc.,— in order to become the indisputable owner of his property, to have a well-defined and distinctive mark, which he must brand upon his goods, and also, as it appears, keep the same sign of record. Such characters were composed of lines and angles, and in this respect corresponded with the craftsman's proprietary incisions.[3] A rigid rule made it necessary that each Mason should select his mark, grounded upon a geometric figure.[4]

Regular tribunals had jurisdiction in all matters pertaining to proprietary marks.[5] This system of personal ownership was recognized at a very early age in England.[6] In the ancient Gothic legal code, recourse was had to sortilege in the division of inherited property. Each heir

[1] Diese Steinmetzzeichen waren ein wesentlicher Theil Hütteneinrichtung. Stieglitz, *Geschichte der Baukunst*, p. 614. Vide Luebke, *Plastik*, p. 442.

[2] Es soll auch Keiner sein ehrenzeichen für sich selbs und eignes gewalts, nicht endern. *Ordnung der Steinmetzen v. Y.* 1459, Art. 59; Stieglitz, *op. cit.*, p. 615. Designated "Ehrenzeichen," honor marks.

[3] Schauberg, *Symbolik der Freimaurerei*, Bd. I., p. 96.

[4] Fallou, *Mysterien der Freimaurer*, p. 69.

[5] Grimm, *Deutsche Rechts Alterthümer*, p. 528, *et seq.*, and Schulte, *Reichs und Rechtsgeschichte*, pp. 231–435; Maurer, *Geschichte der Markenverfassung*, *p.* 132.

[6] By the statute of 5 Henry III., enacted in the year 1266, bakers were compelled to have a mark for their bread. The ordinances of the Worcester Guild required that each Tyler should possess a distinctive mark: every tyller makynge and sillynge it into the cite, sett his *propre marke uppon his tyle, etc.* Smith, *English Guilds*, p. 399; also, p. 374, where he is forced to put it on his tyle.

selected a Runic character, after which the wooden pieces on which these hieroglyphics were engraved were placed in a house utensil, or thrown upon a white cloth. The Runic mark decided the individual share, and subsequently became the sign of proprietorship. These marks were designated as "Hausmarke,"—housemarks.[1]

The regulation of the year 1459 throws no light upon this interesting and important subject. One reference alone is made, and that is, when a Fellow-craftsman receives his mark, he shall never change it,[2] except by unanimous consent;[3] but the venerable Torgau ordinance of 1462, so frequently quoted in the progress of this work, affords much valuable information touching the time when this investiture was made, and what was the effect of it.[4]

As hitherto stated, upon the termination of an apprenticeship, and upon the apprentice receiving the degree of a Fellow, he was entitled to possess a separate and individual *mark*, which he must thenceforth incise upon his work. As a rule, these signs were confined to the Fellows, and no apprentice could obtain one unless under peculiar circumstances. For instance, if the Master were unable to keep

[1] Simrock, *Deutsche Mythologie*, p. 508. These were registered. The heraldic mark of the ancient fraternity consisted of three towers, and a pair of compasses between. Edmondson, *On Heraldry, sub voce Freemason.*

[2] Und eignes gewalts nicht endern. *Ordnung der Steinmetzen vom Yahre* 1459.

[3] *Ordnung der Strassburger Haupthütte*, 1563. Vide Krause, *Die Drei Kunsturkunden der Freimaurer*, Bd. II., Ab. 1, p. 311.

[4] Certain tokens were selected by members of mediæval guilds and worn as distinctive badges of their several orders. Among the acts of an ecclesiastical council, held in the year 1368, attention was directed to the fact that many societies, organized in those troublous times for purposes of protection, compelled their members to display about their persons society marks and characters: et interdum se omnes veste, *consimili cum signis aliquibis exquisitis vel characteribus* inducentes. *Concil. Vaurensi.*, Tome XV., c. 37. One guild, instituted in the year 1379, mentioned by Wilda, *Das Gilden Wesen des Mittelalters*, p. 223, used a circle, with segments displayed within, both as a mark of the fraternity, to be worn by the members, and as a symbol of trinity. Corporations had banners and shields during the Middle Ages. Lacroix, *Les Mœurs et Usages*, p. 295, etc. Also, shields under Roman emperors. Trebell. Pollio, *In Gallien.*, cap. 8.

the young craftsman employed, on account of a scarcity of work, he was allowed by the ordinance of the fraternity to loan him his own, notwithstanding the apprenticeship had not expired. This was permitted, in order that the workman might travel with a mark and obtain wages.[1] With this exception, it was expressly forbidden a Master to invest his apprentice with a mark until he had faithfully performed a lawful servitude to the trade.[2] When this term of years had elapsed, the Master was compelled to give the newly-initiated Fellow a token, within fourteen days of his expired term, unless specific obligations interfered; in such case the craftsman must tender satisfaction before receiving the mark.[3]

The presentation of this honorable distinction was accompanied with ceremony, and always with a feast. When the time had been designated for this purpose, the Master invited a few ecclesiastics, and not more than ten Fellows.[4] The banquet, which was at the lodge's expense, consisted of a reasonable supply of wheat bread — a penny-worth! fifteen groschen worth of rye bread, fifteen groschen worth of meat, and the inevitable casks of wine.[5] And in case the new Fellow desired more guests, he was obliged to pay the expense of increased numbers — a rule which, it is apprehended, made these repasts still more frugal!

Mediæval Freemasons used their marks in place of seals.[6] This practice was also common to minsters and cathedrals, as the seals of Strassburg and Freiburg, in Brisgau, clearly attest. The Strassburg die was circular in shape, similar to an escutcheon shield, and inscribed in it were a level, two mallets, and a pair of compasses. But the most curious, perhaps, excepting the intertwined compasses of Melrose abbey, already described, is the ancient seal of a Dresden

[1] Da mag ein Meister seinen Diener ein zeichen verleihen in sein Leryaren zu wandern. *Ordnung der Steinmetzen*, 1462, Art. 30. [2] *Ibid.*, Art. 31.

[3] *Ibid.*, Art. 26. Kloss, *Die Freimaur. in ihrer wah. Bedeutung*, p. 221, § 76.

[4] *Ordnung der Steinmetzen vom Yahre* 1462, Art. 27. [5] *Ibid.*

[6] Die Steinmetzen bedienten sich solcher Zeichen auch anstatt Siegel. Stieglitz, *Geschichte der Baukunst*, p. 615.

lodge of Masons. This also is perfectly round. The interior of the circle is filled with an uneven-edged heraldic badge, on which are engraved a pair of compasses, with a square displayed in position over both points; from the angle of the square a triangular level depends.[1]

After presentation of the mark, it was transcribed, or rather enrolled, upon the Master's tablet or book of tokens, where these characters were preserved for each lodge.[2] A record of this kind is still extant at Basle, dating back to the sixteenth century. The use of such tablets is of the highest antiquity. The goldsmiths of Gand, in the year 1470, in conformity to governmental direction, established a system of registry for private proprietary marks, in the interest of their trade.[3] The tablet alluded to is made of copper, and contains the names of members of the corporation, with the distinctive mark prefixed to each name.[4] No resemblance whatever exists between the characters used by the jewellers of the Middle Ages and the marks of the ancient builders. As already stated, both the ordinances of 1459 and 1462 prescribed certain rules for the acquisition of marks and their preservation.[5]

[1] Stieglitz, *Ueber die Kirche der heiligen Kunigunde zu Rochlitz*, app. 4 and 5, furnishes copies of these seals.

[2] Meister Tafeln welche die Zeichen der Meister aufbewahren. Ibid., *Geschichte der Baukunst*, p. 615.

[3] Les maitrés etaient tenus d'apposer sur leurs ouvrages une marque de fabrique, un seing particulier qui devait servir de garantie pour l'acheteur. Lacroix, *Les Moeurs et Usages au Moyen Age*, p. 325.

[4] Lacroix, *Les Moeurs et Usages au Moyen Age*, p. 325. It may be added here, as connected with the subject, that tokens were worn by members of secret societies in Europe during the Middle Ages for superstitious purposes. Payne Knight, *History of the Worship of Priapus*, p. 170; also, Westropp and Wake, *Ancient Symbol Worship*, p. 31. Pilgrims to sainted shrines wore tokens in the time of Giraldus Cambrenesis, which were called *signacula*,—small signs. *Anglia Sacra*, Tome II., p. 481. Fosbroke, *British Monachism*, p. 359, interprets them to be "Canterbury Bells." The whole of this custom is evidently derived from remote Paganism, — especially the Norse, — when priests and people carried about their persons the symbols of favorite deities. Simrock, *Deutsche Mythologie*, p. 499.

[5] *Ordnung der Steinmetzen*, 1459, Art. 73; *Ibid.*, 1462, Art. 26; also, Kloss, *Die Freimaurerei in ihrer wahren Bedeutung*, pp. 219, 221–2.

It was rigidly prohibited a Fellow-craft securing such distinctive token, except under the circumstances as previously narrated. In case it occurred that a craftsman, failing to serve a regular apprenticeship, or for other causes, was not possessed of a mark in accordance with strict regulations, but had purchased one, lawful masons could neither work nor hold Masonic intercourse with him.[1] All work was inspected by a Pallirer or Warden, and no mark could be hewn upon stone work until the same had been submitted for examination, whether it had been duly prepared and wrought out in harmony with the architectural plans.[2] Any evasion of this rule was punished by a fine of a half pound of wax. A like penalty was imposed on all Fellows entering lodge during hours of labor without permission or direction.[3]

It sometimes happened that a regular craftsman, who had learned the work, appeared in conclave and asked to be invested with a mark. The Master, if satisfied with the justice of his demand, was compelled to grant his request. However, the strange brother was necessitated to give unto God's holy service such assessment as the lodge awarded, and in addition it was carefully insisted upon he must set a banquet of double the usual size and allowance for his considerate Fellows![4] From the foregoing it will, I trust, sufficiently appear that the points adverted to were, so early as the years 1459 and 1462, an undisputed part of symbolic or Blue Lodge Masonry, and that they were the entire property of Fellow-craft Masons.

[1] *Ordnung, cit.*, 1462, Art. 94.

[2] Welcher geselle sein zeichen anschlecht ob er recht gemacht sey. *Ibid.*, Art. 72.

[3] *Ibid., loc. cit.*

[4] *Ordnung der Steinmetzen vom Yahre* 1462, Art. 25. In many guilds, it was customary to keep a Black List, upon which the names of delinquent members were entered, whether disfranchised or suspended from guildic privileges. Wilda, *Das Gilden Wesen des Mittelalters*, p. 285; Smith, *English Guilds*, pp. 170, 156, 403; Cibrario, *Frammenti Storici*, p. 208.

CHAPTER XXXI.

BYZANTINE ART IN EUROPE — THE TRANSLATION OF THE ROMAN CAPITAL TO BYZANTIUM — THE CENTRE OF FINE ARTS — GREEK ARCHITECTURE IN FOREIGN LANDS — INTRODUCED INTO ITALY AT AN EARLY AGE — GRECIAN ARTISTS IN SPAIN — PAGANIZATION OF CHRISTIANITY — MOSAIC PAVEMENT AND STAR — THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH PERPETUATES PAGANISM — BYZANTINE BUILDERS ARE THE HEIRS OF ANCIENT CRAFTSMEN — CORPORATIONS OF GREEK ARTISANS REORGANIZE ON A CHRISTIAN BASIS — GEOMETRICIANS HONORED — ANCIENT COLLEGES DESTROYED — GUILDS OF TRADESMEN ALLOWED BY IMPERIAL ROME — IMMUNITIES TO CORPORATIONS OF BUILDERS AT BYZANTIUM — OLD TRADITIONS ASSIMILATED TO THE NEW FAITH.

FREQUENT allusion has been made in the progress of this work to the influence exercised by Byzantine artificers upon architectural and other arts in Western Europe. It has already been narrated that the translation of the capital of the Roman empire from the Eternal City to Byzantium, or Constantinople, produced an important change in the condition of fine arts. On the destruction of Grecian independence and outlying colonies of that nation by absorption into the imperial government, Greek architects[1] were imported to Rome by Julius Cæsar for the purpose of introducing a style of art to which the Romans were strangers.

Under such royal patronage these skilled artists con-

[1] Stieglitz, *Baukunst der Griechen und Roemer*, Bd. I., p. 43. The people of Rome depended, from very ancient times, for architectural art, upon foreigners, because, according to Livy, *Hist. Rom.*, Lib. I., c. 56, the Etruscans provided their neighbors with fine buildings. Vide Tiraboschi, *Storia della Letteratura Italiana*, Tomo I., p. 17, etc.

tinued to exert a permanent influence in architecture, which had attained a high degree in the year 328, when Constantine removed the seat of government. Untrammelled by the traditions of Pagan Rome, the Christian proselyte artisans were at liberty to invent new modes of architecture, or modify existing edifices and works of art into an adaptation to the new religion.

The earliest churches of the Christians at Constantinople and elsewhere, were closely imitated after the basilica in which justice was judicially administered — such changes only having been made as the exigencies of the rites and ceremonies of the Christians required.[1]

Before a century had elapsed, the most skilled workmen of the empire were to be found in Greece. Among the edifices erected at Constantinople by the Emperor Constantine himself, was one dedicated to the suggestive name of Divine Wisdom.[2] Besides this church of Saint Sophia, rebuilt at a later period, others, also fallen into decay, were repaired by the Emperor Justinian, who employed more than five hundred architects for that purpose. For centuries Byzantium continued to be the source whence all the art knowledge of the civilized world was derived; it had become the centre of all the remaining arts and industries, and of literature, which the shattered governments of the West were powerless to protect. The skilled Greeks of Constantinople were the *arbitri elegantiarum* for the rest of Europe and the Orient, similar to what Athens had

[1] Hope, *Historical Essay on Architecture*, chap. ix. Touching the basilicas, Pliny, Lib. VI., c. 83, may be consulted.

[2] Hope, *op. cit.*, p. 124. Upon the completion of this temple, dedicated to St. Sophia, the emperor exclaimed: "I have completed a fabric far superior to the one erected by Solomon at Jerusalem." Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Vol. IV., p. 86; Milizia, *Vie dei pui celebri Architetti*, p. 135. This dedication is a clear recognition of the influence of cabalistic doctrines, prevalent in Constantine's time. *Wisdom* was the first in the crown of Sephiroth, and most revered by the Jews. Vide Buddeus, *Introd. ad Histor. Philos. Ebraeor.*, p. 277.

been in remote antiquity.[1] The arch, whose essential principle had long been known to the ancients,[2] was propagated to Western Europe from Byzantium.

The progress of Greek or Byzantine architecture can be traced with accuracy into foreign lands. One of the first edifices erected in this style was built at Ravenna, about the middle of the fifth century, by Galla Placidea, daughter of Theodora, widow of Antalphus, king of the Goths, and is constructed in the form of a Grecian cross. Byzantine architecture was thus early introduced into Italy, and in the church of San Vitale, also erected in Justinian's time,[3] this style is plainly discernible.

Italian seaport towns obtained their artificers directly from Constantinople, and a steady, uninterrupted intercourse was maintained between the capital of the Eastern empire and the leading cities of Italy. As early as the reign of Justinian, great numbers of Greek artisans were sent to Western Europe for the purpose of rebuilding sacred edifices. This demand and supply, as has been previously stated, was continued with little change for many centuries, and during this rapid interchange of distant and partly homogeneous nationalities, the cathedral of Saint Marc's, at Venice, was constructed by these nomadic Byzantine artists.[4]

On the eastern slope of the Alps, earlier churches, built in the age of Charlemagne,[5] and later, were the handiwork

[1] Hawkins, *History of the Origin of Gothic Architecture*, p. 29.

[2] Hope, *ut supra*, p. 133.

[3] For general activity in building, at home and abroad, under this ruler, see Berington, *Literary Hist. of the Middle Ages*, pp. 533–4; Milizia, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

[4] The foundations of this city are said to have been laid in the year 420, by a Candian Greek, named Entinopus. Hawkins, *History of the Origin of Gothic Architecture*, p. 27. Vide Daru, *Histoire de Venise*, Tome I.

[5] Willis, *Architecture of the Middle Ages*, p. 18, says Byzantine art was first brought into Italy by the exarchs of Ravenna. He also suggests that an interval in the progressive activity of these artisans occurred until the eleventh century, when it revived. Continual and close relations between Italy and Byzantium. Cibrario, *Frammenti Storici*, p. 334.

of Eastern art corporations; for instance, Notre Dame du Don of Avignon, the cathedral of Angoulême, and in Germany the cathedrals of Worms, Speyer, Mayence, and Gelnhausen. The church of St. Castor, at Coblentz, erected in the year 860, by Louis the Pious, and Santa Maria, of Cologne, betray the singularly uniform characteristics of Byzantine architecture.[1]

Artists from Constantinople, during the early and Middle Ages, were eagerly sought after by the old Asiatic monarchs, and also by the newer sovereigns of the Occident. During the reign of the Sassanide dynasty, Greeks of every description were in great demand at the Persian court. A prince of this royal race, Nashervan by name, although himself a professor of the Magi religion, made the singular request of some Grecian philosophers to come and instruct his subjects in their theology.[2]

Byzantine architects first instructed the Persians to turn an arch and to use and construct the cupola. Whether this nation may have possessed an indigenous architecture is uncertain, but Metradorus, dissatisfied at home, in the reign of Constantine established himself at Byzantium as an architect.[3] This same builder travelled through India, transmitting his art knowledge to the people of the far East, and in return received numerous jewels for his services.[4] Justinian the Second also employed a Persian architect to design a few of his more elegant structures;[5] but the style of art in vogue among the Byzantines was propagated to the Christians of the empire of Persia.

When the fiery zeal of Mahomet had waked the slumbering energies of the listless Arab, and diverted his prowess into the subjugation and invasion of other regions;

[1] Hope, *Essay on Architecture*, p. 142. [2] *Ibid.*, chap. xiii.

[3] Hawkins, *On the Origin of Gothic Architecture*, p. 26; Hope, *Essay on Architecture*, p. 144.

[4] Milizia, *Vie dei pui celebri Architetti*, p. 129. [5] Hope, *op. cit.*, p. 145.

when the successful conquests under the banners of Islam had permitted the Abasside caliphs to rest from the excitations of war, they also directed their attention to the adornment of the conquered provinces, and for this purpose recourse was had to Byzantium.[1]

By the attraction of liberal offers, Grecian artisans, mathematicians, physicians, linguists, and grammarians were induced to seek preferment at the Saracenic court. In the year 820, a son of Haroun-al-Raschid, the friend of Charlemagne,[2] applied to the Greek empire for the best works extant, in order to have them translated into Arabic, and read in the Moslem colleges of Corfu, Borna, Cairo, Tunis, and Tripoli.[3] Whenever the Saracens successfully established themselves in any country, their attention was immediately turned to beautifying the towns and villages by the erection of sumptuous edifices; and for this purpose Abderham, the most magnificent Musselman ruler in Spain,[4] procured for Cordova a Byzantine builder. That race, cognate with the Tartars, whose moguls made Constantinople tremble, and subsequently established their empire in India, had no sooner begun to cultivate those arts which develop into a vigorous growth under the foster-

[1] "The Saracens and the Moors, like the Persians, not only copied Grecian art, but employed Grecian artists." *Ibid.*, p. 148; Berington, *Literary History of the Middle Ages*, p. 322.

[2] When Almamon applied to the court of Byzantium for Greek science and art knowledge, an express recognition was given to Constantinople as containing within itself all mechanical skill. *Ibid.*, App. II. This caliph diligently collected in the capital of the Eastern empire many valuable Greek manuscripts, which were translated into the Arabic tongue, and became, in the schools of Cordova and the Orient, reliable text-books. Humboldt, *Kosmos*, p. 303, an. (1).

[3] Hope, *ut supra*, p. 147.

[4] Of this valiant warrior, Conde, *Historia de la Dominacion de los Arabes en España*, p. 41, says that he was insatiable of glory, and deemed life only of value in comparison to the gigantic enterprises he undertook and accomplished. It was he who established the capital of Spain at Cordova. Vide Mariana, *Historia de España*, Tomo I., p. 334.

ing protection of peace, than they drew their architectural models from Grecian sources. Mr. Hope[1] thus elegantly expresses the far-reaching power of this style of art: "On the wings of Mohammed's spreading creed, wafted from land to land by the boundless conquests of his followers, the architecture of Constantinople, extending one way to the farthest extremities of India, and the other, to the utmost outskirts of Spain, provided throughout the whole of the regions intervening between the Ganges and the Guadalquivir — in all of them alike, on the very first settling in them of the Mohammedans, we see the noble features immediately appearing, from the application of Greek skill, in full maturity of form they had attained among themselves."

The energizing power of Byzantine art not only extended from the shores of the Indian Ocean to the surging waters of the Atlantic, but its influence was felt in the dominions of hyperborean Russia. In the year 955, a Russian princess, named Elga, on her return from Constantinople, built at Kieff a church in the form of a Greek cross. Towards the close of the tenth century, Vladimir, the grand-duke, having embraced the Christian religion, and with it adopted the Greek ritual, immediately constructed at Kieff, under the direction of Byzantine architects, a cathedral, which was dedicated to the significant name of Divine Wisdom. A church, similarly named, was erected by a corporation of Greek builders, in the year 1041, at Novgorod. All the sacred edifices built in Russia, until the final extinction of the Byzantine empire, were the handiwork of Grecian artificers.[2]

The earliest Christians looked with abhorrence upon everything relating to Pagan worship, and, influenced by the rapid spread of the new religion, a decree was promulgated by Theodosius ordering all heathen rites to be abandoned, Pagan temples to be destroyed, and the sub-

[1] *Essay on Architecture*, p. 149, *et seq.*

[2] Hope, *Ibid.*, p. 157.

stantial images of an extinct theology to be forthwith destroyed. By this edict the works of classic antiquity, in bronze or marble, painting or statuary, which embodied the spirited conceptions of the highest type of art, were mingled in an indiscriminate destruction.

In the time of Gregorius the Saint, all remains of idolatrous Rome, still visible above ground, were directed to be cast into the slimy bed of the Tiber.[1] As the early Christians were chiefly composed of Jews and Gnostics, no effort was made to use the pencil or chisel to delineate or carve out of inanimate marble any images, because such things invoked the especial abhorrence of those devout fanatics.

The fourth century brought a modification of the intense hatred to heathen imagery, as entertained by the first church. Numerous converts having been added to Christianity from the idolaters of Greece and Rome, it was deemed prudential that some concessions should be granted to image worship. From this time until the relentless war of the iconoclast, Leo the Isaurian, this species of ritualism advanced with marvellous rapidity. Although the Romans, towards the termination of the Augustan age, employed for ornamental purposes a style of inlaid work resembling mosaic,[2] yet the higher degree of development of this kind of art was exclusively due to the Greeks of Byzantium. So much use was made of mosaics wherever Grecian art extended, and so numerous were the manufactories of them at Constantinople, that they derived the distinctive name of *opus graecum*.[3] At a

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 161.

[2] Plinii, Lib. XXXVI., cap. 25. "Genus pavimenti graecanici." During the excavations at Nimes, in the early part of the present century, many fine specimens of this work were exhumed. Ménard, *Histoire des Antiquités de la Ville de Nimes*, p. 136.

[3] Mueller, *Archæologie der Kunst*, pp. 458, 462; Poole, *Ecclesiastical Architecture in England*, p. 299.

later period, when, on account of the final overthrow of the Greek empire, this elegant production could not be procured from Greece, the monks in the monasteries of Italy directed their attention to the preparation of mosaics for sacred edifices.

Those churches whose location was in the vicinity of the Adriatic, and more immediately connected with the Byzantine empire, were the first to show such inlaid work; as, for instance, the cathedral of Saint Mark, at Venice. It would seem, however, that the Grecian artists at work in foreign lands were accustomed to import this species of embellishment from Byzantium, and thus disseminated it throughout Italy and Northern Europe.[1] In France, the oldest specimen of the mosaic art was possessed by the Benedictine convent of Clugny. In Westminster abbey, on the shrine of Edward the Confessor, a foreign artist was employed, in the year 1270, to inlay the monumental architecture with this work.[2]

Whatever excellence the Assyrians, or other nations of a remote antiquity, may have attained in the preparation of enamelled or glazed bricks for mosaic decoration, was far transcended by their more modern successors, the artificers of the Eastern empire. In the application of stained glass to give subdued, though rich and varied, hues to the brilliant sunlight, as it streamed through manifold diamond squares, the Byzantines were unrivalled. Through corporations of these artisans, this ornamental art was transmitted to artificers in the north of Europe. The *opus graecanicum*, designed by the Greeks, was under their exclusive control until the extinction of the Eastern empire. And at the time of the persecutions of the image-breakers, many Oriental monk artists, who apparently did not possess the flexible religious scruples

[1] Hope, *Essay on Architecture*, p. 166.

[2] Henry III.'s tomb, who died in 1272, and was buried by the Knight Templars, is exquisitely inlaid with gold and scarlet mosaic work.

of their lay brethren, fled to Italy, and were readily received by the Romish church. So late as the year 1066, an abbot of Monte Cassino, for the construction of a church, ordered workmen from Lombardy and Amalfi, but for mosaic decoration employed Byzantine workmen.[1] There are reasonable proofs that the mosaic art was in use early in the fifth century by the builders of Saint Agatha, at Ravenna;[2] but notwithstanding that the primary design of this kind of work was intended thus early for embellishment and purposes of decoration, mosaics were frequently made to subserve symbolical references.[3] Thus, for instance, such work represented the chaotic confusion of the Ptolemaic system, and the uncertainties of its existence. In many instances, the mosaics were largely composed of triangles, spheres, and circles,[4]—the double triangles, and, perhaps, the pentalpha, surrounded by these curiously-wrought blocks, were typical of divinity.[5]

Although the original significance of the mosaic pavement and blazing star, still appurtenant to Masonic lodges, has been altered, enough historical data may be gleaned from the foregoing to assert that this checkered inlaid work was typical of the primordial state of uncreated nature, and that the triangle or blazing star within it symbolized Deity in his work of creation; or, in other words, this star is the glory radiated from the creative Jehovah (׳), the letter G. In the star emblem used by French lodges at the close of the last century, the letter G was invariably inserted, and was declared to be symbolic of the Divine Architect.[6]

[1] Ciampini, *Vet. Mon.*, Tomo II., p. 104. In the year 1178, Sebastian, doge of Venice, procured an architect from Constantinople for the purpose, it is presumed, of repairing the old church of St. Marc's. Milizia, *Memorie degli Architetti*, Tomo IV., p. 148.

[2] Hawkins, *History of the Origin of Gothic Architecture*, p. 33.

[3] Poole, *Ecclesiastical Architecture of England*, p. 301.

[4] *Ibid., loc. cit.*

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 302.

[6] L'Étoile flamboyante est l'emblême du G. A. de l'U., qui brille d'une lu-

In its turn, sculpture was doomed to follow a much more rapid downfall and expatriation than other Grecian arts. As above suggested, the early Christians having been converted from the ranks of Jews and Gnostics, they retained the utmost abhorrence for Pagan images designed to perpetuate some fancied divine property of the prototype. After the lapse of time, Roman and Greek idolaters proselyted to the Christian faith, and gradually image worship was introduced into religious culture.

The Iconoclastic war was directly levelled against sculpture and statuary. Leo the Isaurian directed at plastic art the whole power of the Byzantine government, and was so far successful that, under his son Constantine, by a decree of a council called to consider the subject, images were entirely abolished from Oriental churches. As already narrated, the synod of the Latin church refused to accept this edict, and, on the contrary, emphatically reaffirmed image worship. The unremitting persecutions of the Eastern empire compelled large numbers of Greek artisans to abandon their native country, and flee for safety and sustenance to the West, where they were kindly received, both by the Papal authorities and the Carlovingian kings. That the Oriental artificers or art corporations of the East, from the time of the translation of the imperial capital to Constantinople until centuries afterwards, were possessed of nearly all practical knowledge of fine arts, is apparently beyond doubt.

So long was this precedence of skill and artistic repute retained, that many persons from Western Europe had recourse to the workshops of Antioch, in order to perfect themselves in the preparation of brass and gold. Architects were procured from Alexandria for Italy even as

mière qu'il n'emprunte que de lui seul. *Regulateur du Maçon* (Grade de Compag.), pp. 18, 19. Didron, *Christian Iconography*, p. 114, gives an illustration of the Deity sitting upon triangles, surrounded by a circle, with diverging rays of light emanating from a centre.

late as the thirteenth century, and also from the learned schools of Athens, in the belief that they were possessed of secret knowledge unknown to the Latins. Consequently, those distant countries were much frequented by the eager Franks, Anglo-Saxons, and Normans.[1]

Allusion has been previously made to the fact that architectural art, together with its handmaids, sculpture and painting, and the *opus graecanicum*, was completely absorbed by the dexterous Byzantines, and through them propagated into Asia and the Latin empire. Notwithstanding that Spain, under Musselman dominion, attained to a high degree of academical and scholastic knowledge, the erudite Arabs of that country were forced to return to Byzantium in search of profounder learning. Constant intercourse existed between the Oriental empire and the Moslem dynasties of Spain.[2] Regular embassies were sent by the Greek emperors to the Sassanide kings, in order to perpetuate the amicable relations established between those nations so widely separated.[3]

With the extensive and far-reaching ramifications of the Grecian empire, the Byzantine artificers travelling in India, Persia, Egypt, or Europe were brought into contact with divers forms of national life, and necessarily subjected to the adventitious circumstances attendant upon a sojourn in distant lands. Whatever may have been the form of union among the art associations in Constantinople, it is evident they were more intimately connected

[1] In den Werkstätten der Goldschmiede und Erzarbeitern von Antiochen lernten auch Abenländer zierliche verfertigen. Findel, *Geschichte der Freimaurerei*, pp. 16, 17.

[2] En este tiempo (tenth century) vinieron à Cordoba enviados del rey de los griegos al rey Abderahman. Conde, *Historia de la Dominacion de los Arabes en España*, p. 218. Greek embassadors direct to Cordova, received in the year 853. *Ibid.*, p. 131.

[3] An elegant Grecian fountain was ordered from Constantinople by the Arabians, to decorate their newly-built city of Medina: de meravillosa labor que se habia trabejado en Constantina. Conde, *op. cit.*, p. 206.

during their continuance in foreign countries. At all events, it is a rational assumption that these corporations maintained the integrity and general freedom accorded them in Byzantium, and, as regularly organized bodies of builders, they made their appearance in Europe.[1]

A careful examination and comparison of the Pagan ritualism of heathen Rome with that of the early Christian church, will attest the close identity between them. It will also furnish a satisfactory explanation of the causes at work to perpetuate among the mediæval Freemasons, the successors of Byzantine operatives, numerous ritualistic and symbolical references undoubtedly derived from Roman idolatry. Whether the original tenets of the profession of Christ were embodied in symbols for the purpose of concealing the faithful from the persecutions of unbelievers, or to distinguish them, by means of emblematic figures, under circumstances of jeopardy and danger, is uncertain. But no fact of ecclesiastical history can be better demonstrated, than that the professors of the new religion sought to harmonize the forms of Pagan Rome with the developing ceremonies of the infant church.[2]

To the cross[3] a special attribute of power was assigned, and intrinsic property to guard against the assaults of evil demons, to those who wore it or traced it in the air. After Christianity had become the recognized creed of the empire, these typical allusions to heathen deities, which, previous to the fourth century, had invoked especial condemnation and horror, were suddenly transformed into emblems suggestive of the new faith.

[1] Mueller, *Archæologie der Kunst*, p. 240; Stieglitz, *Geschichte der Baukunst*, p. 479.

[2] Hope, *Essay on Architecture*, p. 182.

[3] The cross was used at a very early age as a symbol of Christ. The peculiar attributes of power with which this type was invested arose from the superstitious notion that wherever the cross was, there Christ stood: "Ubi crux est martyr ibi." For further virtues of the cross, see Didron, *Christian Iconography*, p. 370, *et seq.*

In whatever manner such emblems as alluded to particular Gentile divinities could be made to subserve the true doctrine, they were quickly interpreted to signify for Christ what originally referred to Pagan gods.[1] The allegories of our Saviour seem to have furnished the means to the introduction of this class of symbols; because, wherever an allusion was made in the parables to any emblems which typified heathen deities, they became, by an abrupt transition, especial objects of respect and veneration for Christians.[2] The vine, with genii sporting among its spreading branches, and the processes by which the grape is converted into wine, collectively represented to the heathen the Bacchic rite, and were, by the first followers of Christ, made to symbolize laborers in the vineyard of the new faith, or perhaps as emblematic of the cup of wine with which our Saviour symbolized his blood. Since the vine of Bacchus was employed as a type of wine, for the same reason the ear of corn, dedicated to the Pagan goddess Ceres, was brought into a symbolism of that bread which Christ had distributed to his disciples at the last supper.[3]

Wherever it could be made practicable, and without becoming too distasteful, the Christian evangelists transferred, bodily, into the rites and ceremonies of the new church, large portions of Pagan symbols. Thus the palm branch, which, among the Gentiles, denoted worldly victories, in the hands of proselytes became the emblem of the triumph of the faith of Christ, and was, with oft-recurring frequency, made to pass from the palsied hands of heathen gods into those of a saint or martyr. Venus's dove[4] was

[1] The Romans accused the early Christians of using heathen symbols. Creuzer, *Symbolik und Mythologie der alten Voelker*, Bd. IV., p. 763.

[2] Hope, *Essay on Architect.*, p. 180. Vide Milman, *Latin Christianity, passim.*

[3] Hope, *op. cit.*, p. 181.

[4] Abbeys and churches, during the Middle Ages, were erected to Saint Colombe (sainted dove), or Holy Ghost thus symbolized. Didron, *Christian*

typified as the Holy Ghost, and Diana's stag, as previously stated, symbolized the Christian soul thirsting for the water of life. Juno's peacock, under the name of phœnix, represented the resurrection, and with this significance frequently occurred in mediæval architecture.[1] One of the evangelists was endowed with Jupiter's eagle, and another gifted with Cybele's lion. Winged genii and cupids, in the Christian artist's hand, became angels and cherubs. Many of the mythological creations, such as the sphinx, supposed by the heathens to be possessed of supernatural powers to avert impending evil, were perpetuated by the enthusiastic proselytes for similar purposes.

The cross itself was invested with attributes of irresistible power, at a very early age of the church, and was made to subserve such superstitious notions in the erection of sacred edifices. The mediæval myth of the sang real,[2] or holy graal, can be traced to this symbolizing tendency of the first Christian church. The allegorizing bias in the Grecian church gradually diminished into real objects of representation, and in the sixth century the body of Christ on the cross was exhibited in houses of religious worship. Towards the close of the ensuing century, the councils of Constantinople forbade the introduction of the prototype of the actual thing.[3]

In order to allay the wrath of the zealous Christians, which undisguised representation would create, other insignia was used to bring prominent features of the new culture before the eyes of the faithful. In regular procession, our Saviour and the twelve apostles were symbolized

Iconography, p. 439; also, Creuzer, *op. cit.*, Bd. IV., p. 363; and Westropp and Wake, *Ancient Symbol Worship*, p. 70. Vide Dante, *Purgatorio*, c. xxix, Str. 105, and Didron, *op. cit.*, p. 456, etc.

[1] Luebke, *Geschichte der Plastik*, p. 272. Poole, *Ecclesiastical Architecture of England*, chap. ix., may be consulted to advantage in this connection.

[2] Wilmar, *Literatur Geschichte*, p. 127.

[3] Hope, *Essay on Architecture*, p. 182.

by twelve lambs. To designate the meek and loving Christian, a lamb was typically used.[1] A thirteenth, and more exalted than his associates, whose head was surmounted by a nimbus,[2] and sometimes holding a cross, symbolized Christ.[3]

Allusion has been hitherto made to the vesica pisces suggested by the combined letters forming the Greek word ΙΧΘΥΣ,[4] and also to what extent it was adopted by the Freemasons for builders' marks. Monograms were also adopted by the early Christians, and expressed the above mentioned emblems more directly, as, for instance, the cross encircled with a ring or wreath.[5] These and other symbols continually recur in the more ancient churches erected by Byzantine corporations in Italy. In one of these structures at Ravenna, nearly the entire class of symbols, as borrowed from Pagan rites, is delineated, viz., the vine and palm-tree branch, the dove of Diana, and the paschal lamb, or peacock. Besides these, numerous animals consecrated to the mystic ceremonies of certain divinities, such as the deer and the goose, are to be found

[1] Creuzer, *Symbolik und Mythologie der alten Voelker*, Bd. IV., p. 363.

[2] The nimbus, or glory, appears to have been used to symbolize the flashing forth of divine light from the head, the centre of creative thought, of each deity. In the Early Ages, illustrious rulers, as Charlemagne, were invested with it. Didron, *Christian Iconography*, pp. 23, 75.

[3] Didron, *op. cit.*, p. 367, *et seq.*

[4] Perhaps the more correct opinion may be that the fish was typified by ancient nations, and appropriated by the Christians with other Pagan symbols. Didron, *Christian Iconography*, p. 347, gives full proofs of the use of this figure as representing our Saviour. Among the Syrians, the fish was an emblem of hate. Creuzer, *Symbolik und Mythologie der alten Voelker*, Bd. II., p. 398; Lecky, *History of Morals from Augustus to Charlemagne*, Vol. I., p. 400. Among the Sindians — a people of ancient Sarmatia — as many fishes were buried with the deceased as he had killed enemies. Gyraldus, *De Vario Sepeliendi Ritu.*, p. 382. Fish surmounted Irmensaul. Lacroix, *Les Moeurs et Usages*, p. 415. Also symbolized in German mythology. Simrock, *Deutsche Mythologie*, pp. 326–7.

[5] Didron, *op. cit.*, p. 391, *et seq.* Hence, *vignette*, a small vine encircling the capitals in illuminated mediæval manuscripts.

on the walls of the cathedral constructed in the above named city during the fourth and fifth centuries.[1]

Christ was also early typified by a lion, which was one of the three principal symbols of our Saviour, and was emblematical of the resurrection.[2] This figure, in the hands of the zealous proselyte, symbolized the soul's immortality; and, from whatever source originally derived, has become an integral portion of Masonic symbolism, and is retained in this significance.

No sooner had the Christian religion attained to a degree of strength and respectability among the idolatrous Romans, than the rising sect began to adulterate its primitive worship, by introducing into a simple ritualism the cumbersome ceremonials and ideas of the Pagan religion. Proselytes, who had imbued their minds from youth with long-established rites and doctrines, whose faithful practice had caused the clear-voiced trumpet of triumphant Rome to sound throughout the universe, naturally, in the venerable capital, retained a great number of Pagan customs incident to their ancient worship, until finally the favorite heathen usages of the great metropolis acquired a parallel in Christianity.

According to Pliny,[3] the Romans were accustomed to consecrate in such manner the ground upon which a sacred edifice was about to be erected, that thenceforth, for all time, the soil was divested of and withdrawn from the contamination of secular pursuits. This custom was faithfully imitated by the Christians,[4] when the pressure of imperial favor had widened the chasm between them and the Pagan Romans, who still clung to the shadow of a glorious past, in the simple hope that Jupiter Tonans would, by a flash of his dread lightning, utterly exterminate the unbelievers. When the Pagans began the rite of consecration, the place and people were sprinkled with

[1] Hope, *Essay on Architecture*, p. 183. [2] Didron, *op. cit.*, p. 341, *et seq.*
[3] *Epistol. ad Trajan.* [4] Kennett, *Romae Antiquae Notitia*, p. 65.

water, which was supposed to be endowed with specific holy properties.[1] The Romans called this ceremony the rite of lustration. In imitation of this observance, the Christians also attributed a sanctity to water used for similar purposes. This ceremonial had descended, to the close of the last century, equally to the Freemasons and Roman church. By the Gallic craftsmen this rite was used for the purpose of lustration or purgation.[2]

Among the idolatrous Pagans it was a custom to light lamps and torches[3] in the temples of their gods, oftentimes necessitated on account of the gloom of confined space, in order that the place might be sufficiently illuminated to perform sacrificial rites. In the same manner, and to subserve a similar purpose, Christian proselytes, even in those churches where the sun reflected bright and clear, established, as a mark of excessive devotion, the practice of lighting candles around the tomb of a sainted martyr,[4] and in the splendor of the radiant sunlight, tapers were borne in processional ceremonies. Pagan priests lighted the fragrant frankincense, and burned sweet-smelling odors in honor of their deities, and in like manner the Christian priesthood testified their adoration of rapidly increasing saints.

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[1] Quod templo dicabatur . . . . ingressi milites, etc.; aqua e fontibus amnibusque hausta perluere. Tacit., *Historiar.*, Lib. IV., cap. 53.

[2] In the Chamber of Reflection, where the candidate was left to his own thoughts, stood a basin of water: un vase remplit d'eau claire. *Regulateur du Maçon*, p. 13. During the progress of the initiation, he was told the water typified purgation: Vous avez été purifié par l'eau. *Ibid.*, p. 26. In mediæval times, the nuns formed a circle around the presiding officer, who sprinkled them with holy water. Fosbroke, *British Monachism*, p. 310. If Boccaccio may be accredited, this rite of purification was sadly needed by the conventual sisters!

[3] Vide Schauberg, *Symbolik der Freimaurerei*, Bd. I., cap. xvii.

[4] These lights were evidently used as symbols of deity, and substituted for sacred fires. Ignis enim, suo splendore, calore, activitate et expressum est symbolum Dei et divinitatis. Gyraldus, *De Vario Sepeliendi Ritu*, p. 399. Vestal fires also of especial holiness. Kennett, *Romae Antiquae Notitia*, p. 100.

It was a custom among idolatrous Romans afflicted with certain evils, or who desired peculiar benefits, to visit the shrine of their gods, and promise, upon the attainment of vows, to consecrate some object in honor of the divine donor.[1] In many heathen temples these votive offerings were hung up around the altars. When Christianity appropriated other Paganistic usages this was also adopted, and continued in force through the Middle Ages. Our Saviour, Virgin Mary, and the saints were merely substituted for Jupiter, Venus, and the divinities of lesser notability, in order to captivate the wavering mind of the vacillating heathen.

It is well known that the celebration of Christmas is imitated after the ancient idolatrous festival[2] consecrated to the goddess Strenna, accompanied with gifts and held at the entrance of the winter solstice. The presents used on such occasions have served as a token of Paganism in the French name — *étrennês*. The Romans had, in commemoration of the ancient times of Saturn, when all men were equal and the gods devoured their children, a *fête*, which was called Saturnalia. During this uproarious celebration of the Golden Age, all social distinctions were obliterated.[3] In like manner, the carnival instituted by Christianity was based upon the same conception of a temporary equality among all men. This festival has perpetuated idolatrous masks and the licentious revelries of Pagan Rome. During the Lupercalia, about the fifteenth of February, Roman youths, divested of clothing, ran

[1] Votive amulets, expressive of the phallic idea, were numerous, both among the ancient Pagans and during the Middle Ages. Westropp and Wake, *Ancient Symbol Worship*, p. 85, and Payne Knight, *Worship of Priapus*, Pt. II., *passim*.

[2] Policy, no doubt, influenced this custom, to prevent neophytes relapsing into Pagan worship. Creuzer, *Symbolik und Mythologie der alten Voelker*, Bd. IV., p. 775.

[3] Kennett, *Romae Antiquae Notitia*, p. 117.

about the city whipping with lashes every one whom they met.[1] This custom survived to the mediæval Flagellants.

On the first day of May, the return of spring was celebrated by the Pagans with much pomp and joyousness, as a renewal of the forces of nature and reproduction. A tall pole, hung with garlands, was erected, and around it the gleeful youth of both sexes merrily danced, — the Christians propagated this usage, and preserved the maypole, which has been perpetuated through succeeding centuries to the present day in many European countries.[2] When the seasons entered into the summer solstice, Pagan Rome commemorated it with different solemnities. At this period their year began.[3]

In order to justify the festivities of that day, the evangelical priesthood simply changed the object of the *fête* into a celebration of Saint John the Evangelist, and the fires lighted under Pagan dispensation continued to burn with undiminished brilliancy under Christian patronage. Vestal virgins of ancient Rome, sworn to perpetuate virginity as servants of certain gods, unquestionably aided in moulding the Christian conventual system.[4] Not only were the observances of the idolatrous Romans followed with servile imitation, but the ecclesiastics of the new faith actually assumed the sacerdotal robes of the heathen priesthood. The tunic of the priest, the lituus of the augur, and cap of the flamen, became the dalmatic, the mitre, the staff and crosier of a Christian bishop.[5]

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 114; Westropp and Wake, *Ancient Symbol Worship*, p. 95.

[2] The Teutonic maypole is clearly derived from the Yggdrasil. Simrock, *Deutsche Mythologie*, pp. 537, 539.

[3] This period, usually designated St. John's day, completes to this day a half Masonic year.

[4] Hope, *Essay on Architecture*, p. 187. Vide *Ancient Symbol Worship*, *cit.*, p. 94, for conclusive evidence touching this proposition. Also, King, *The Gnostics and their Remains*, pp. 71, 72.

[5] Draper, *History of the Intellectual Development of Europe*, p. 229, says: "Such was the tendency of the times to adulterate Christianity with the spirit

So far as doctrine is concerned, there was a large interpolation of polytheism into the original creed, such, at least, as constituted the guide of faith for the first Christians, who were principally Jews and Gentiles. This was introduced under the form of immaterial essence. Saints and saintesses were adored as possessed of some especial potency, which, it was thought by their devotees, would be manifested upon intercession. Certain phases of the Roman dogma were, beyond doubt, modified by the infusion of mystical notions entertained by the more elevated and erudite of Christian proselytes. The crescent, with which the Virgin Mary was adorned, descended, with its representation of fancied powers, directly from the Grecian Diana and Isis of Egypt.[1]

When it is considered that the Christian church borrowed so largely the forms and ceremonies of Pagan culture, the inference is direct and tenable that civil or semi-secular institutions existing at the full development of the new faith, under the smile of imperial recognition, naturally modified their organism to conform to the example of the rising sect; but the usages and customs, with necessary changes, remained as before. As previously urged, the Byzantine artificers were the lineal heirs of all that arose from the wreck of Grecian or Roman art, from whatever sources originally derived. The fragmentary relics of Pagan observances which have descended to Masonic ritualism were, by a parity of reasoning, in the possession of the builders of Byzantium when they appeared in Western Europe.

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of Paganism, partly to conciliate the prejudice of worldly converts, partly in the hope of securing its more rapid spread." Vide Westropp and Wake, *Ancient Symbol Worship*, p. 94; King, *op. cit.* p. 72. For description of the *lituus*, see Kennett, *Romae Antiquae Notitia*, p. 213.

[1] *Ancient Symbol Worship*, *cit.*, p. 94. Vide Didron, *Christian Iconography*, pp. 86, 87, Fig. 30, 31. The latter was a symbol among the Etruscans. The sun and moon frequently appear in a mystical sense during the Middle Ages. Didron, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

It has been argued,[1] with much force and apparent truth, that the building art was, in times of remotest antiquity, regarded as sacred, and existed under special concession and care of the native priesthood where it was practised; but this allegation cannot be accepted without qualification. Many of the most important edifices of ancient Sicily were constructed with the aid of slaves.[2] It is evident that the science of mathematics, and consequently of architecture, possessed but little attraction for the luxurious Roman towards the dissolution of the republic.[3] Cicero[4] adverted with bitter satire to the geometrical knowledge of Epicurus, while grave philosophers, in the last days of their scholastic exercises, affected to ridicule mathematics as a tissue of absurdities.[5] Astrologers, even down to the time of St. Augustine,[6] were distinguished by that name, and flocked to Rome in great numbers; but with the changing tide of architectural requirements demanded by the erection and adornment of a new city, the Roman emperors carefully distinguished between the valuable artificer at Constantinople and the meretricious show of the impotent magician.[7]

By a rescript of Theodosius, the honorable titles of *spectabiles* and *clarissimi* were conferred on professors of geometry. Diocletian and Maximian declared the cultivation of mathematics to be an object of public concern.[8] Whatever may have been the original constitution of the colleges of

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[1] Schauberg, *Symbolik der Freimaurerei*, Bd. I., cap. 2.

[2] Tiraboschi, *Storia della Letteratura Italiana*, Tomo I., p. 92. "Grandiosi e manifici edifici . . . . di molti schiari fatti impiegati a segar pietre."

[3] Fenn, *History of Mathematics*, p. 18.

[4] *De Finib. Bon. et Mal.*, Lib. I., § 7. [5] Fenn, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

[6] Vide Homily, *in Psalm*, L. lxi., where it is a question of a mathematician or astrologer professing the faith, and with doubts touching his sincerity.

[7] *Cod. Theod.*, Tit. XVI., c. 7, and Ulpian, apud *Collatio. Leg. Mosaicarum*, Tit. 15.

[8] Artem geometriae discere atque exercere publice interest. Especial immunities were granted geometricians and architects by Theodosius. *Cod. Theod.*, XIII.; Tit. IV., c. 3, *De Excusat. Artificium.*

builders, organized by Numa Pompilius[1] at an early period in the history of Rome, and likewise preserved in a healthy vitality by the frequent filiation of Greek artists arriving from their vanquished country, great and important changes necessarily occurred upon a reorganization of these corporations, in order to conform to the prevailing ecclesiastical spirit rapidly extending throughout the Byzantine empire. When the government of Rome had ceased to preserve the appearance of a republic, many forms of civil administration were essentially modified, and with the exception of such associations as claimed an undisputed antiquity, all colleges were remorselessly opened by Julius Cæsar.[2]

While Augustus flattered the effeminate people of Rome with curious histrionic performances, produced before the delighted rabble in a multiplicity of languages,[3] his imperial power dreaded the contact of close corporations. By a royal edict he dissolved nearly all corporations within the city.[4] Under Domitian, mention is made of a college, evidently derived from ancient times, and of one newly instituted to Minervæ.[5] At a later period these guilds were regarded with such jealous solicitude that provincial firemen were interdicted from corporate union.[6]

The vital existence of these corporations was frequently jeopardized by the fluctuating tide of imperial favor. What Trajan had enjoined and crushed out beneath the

[1] Livii, *Hist. Rom.*, Lib. I., cc. 43, 44.

[2] Cuncta Collegia, praeter antiquitus constituta, distraxit. Sueton., *Vita Jul. Caesar.*, cap. 42.

[3] Ibid., *In Vita Octav.*, cap. 43.

[4] Collegia, praeter antiqua et legitima, dissolvit. Ibid., *loc. cit.*, cap. 32. Augustus was evidently compelled to dissociate the members of these societies, on account of a well-grounded apprehension that they might disturb public peace.

[5] Collegium Fluvialium: Minervae cui collegium instituerat. Sueton., *Vita Domitian.*, cap. 4.

[6] Plinii, *Epistol.*, Lib. X., c. 43. In a letter to Pliny, Trajan calls his attention to certain assemblies — corpora — which may require his authoritative interference. Ibid., *Ep.*, cxviii.

grinding force of governmental power, magnanimous Alexander Severus endeavored to resuscitate. It may well be accepted that this emperor, who declared the empire consisted in virtue and not in ornament, would be influenced by the material interests of his dominions. He established guilds of all the mechanical trades,[1] and placed them under royal patronage. In the celebrated procession made by Gallienus, up the Capitoline hill in Rome, the colleges or corporations,[2] still tolerated by personal favor, marched, with shields and banners of the temples, between the sacerdotal hierarchy and the simulated Goths, Franks, and barbarous Sarmatians.[3]

Towards the close of the third century, the bannerets of the Roman corporations, or, perhaps, of the army sodalities, were carried in the triumphal march of Aurelian, in commemoration of his victory over Zenobia.[4] Early in the ensuing century, Constantine the Great translated the capital of the empire to Byzantium, and with it the demand for skilled labor naturally increased. One of the first public concessions of this illustrious emperor was made in favor of a body of architects, whom he declared to be under the patronage of the empire, and, in order that this vocation might be preserved in full vigor, a competent salary was enacted for each professional architect.[5]

In the year 337, three years after the foregoing edict, a rescript was promulgated by Constantine, defining all pro-

[1] Corpora omnium constituit vinariorum, lupinariorum, caligariorum et omnino omnium artium. Lamprid., *Vit. Alex. Sev.*, c. 32.

[2] Et praeter ea quae Collegiorum erant, dracones et signa templorum omniumque legionum ibant. Trebellii Pollionis, *In Vita Gallien. Duo.*, cap. viii.

[3] *Ibid., loc. cit.*

[4] Jam vexilla Collegiorum atque Castrorum. Flav. Vopic., *Vita Div. Aurelian.*, cap. 34.

[5] Architectis quamplurimis opus est: sed quia non sunt: Quibus ut hoc gratum sit, tam ipsos quàm eorum parentes, ab his quae personis iniungi solent volumus esse immunes: ipsisque qui discent solariùm competens statui. XIII., *Cod. Theod.*; Tit. IV., c. 1. *De Excusat. Artific.*

fessors of mechanical arts who should receive an entire immunity from civil exactions, wheresoever these corporations might be dispersed.[1] Succeeding decrees maintained the integrity of associations of architects, geometricians, stonecutters, and carpenters,[2] and it was expressly declared, in the year 364, that corporate privileges conceded them by the earlier government of the Eternal City should remain intact in the Byzantine empire.[3] Therefore, these guilds of builders, by imperial recognition, so early as the reign of Constantine, were established on a solid basis in Byzantium.

In the time of Theodosius, the immunities of corporations of builders, legalized by royal rescripts of his predecessors, were reaffirmed when the code was published in the year 438.[4] In the Western empire, the digested laws of Theodosius were more frequently used by the invading Northmen and degraded native, especially of Italy, than the codes of earlier or subsequent emperors.[5] Theoderich the Goth, almost contemporaneous with the Byzantine lawgiver, by an edict, ordered that the Roman law should be equally binding upon the Goth and conquered Italians.[6]

The architectural and building corporations of the Eastern empire preserved, by virtue of governmental authority, a well defined position in the Oriental body politic; but whatever may have been the legends and traditions of their ancient fraternities, they were, by absolute necessity, altered, in order to harmonize with the ecclesiastical

[1] Artifices artium, per singulas Civitates, morantes, ab universis muneribus vacare praecipimus. *Ibid., loc. cit.*, c. 2.

[2] Mechanicos et geometras, et architectos; itaque immunitatibus gaudeant, etc. *Ibid., loc. cit.*, c. 3.

[3] Ea privilegia, quibus pro reverentia Urbis aeternae, varia corpora hominum vel confirmata esse arbitrio, etc.: vel, si in aliquo parte titubaverint, restituta. XIV., *Cod. Theod.;* Tit. II., c. 1, *De Privilegiis Corporatorum.*

[4] Ferriere, *Histoire du Droit Romain*, p. 239.

[5] In illis (provinciis Occidentis) quidem juris Romani usus superfuit, at non Justinianei, verum Theodosiani, etc. Heineccius, *Historia Juris Civilis Romani*, Lib. I., p. 399.

[6] Savigny, *Geschichte des Römischen Rechts*, Bd. II., p. 173.

policy of that authority which had permitted them to reorganize on the foundation of venerable sodalities. That this was required can admit of little doubt, especially when it is considered that already, under Constantine the Great, severe restrictions began to be placed upon a free celebration of Pagan rites and temple sacrifices.[1] If an unsatisfied doubt might suggest itself touching such modification of heathen legends and culture descended to the Byzantine guilds, the example set by the early Christian church, in appropriating the symbols and ritualism of certain divinities, and rigidly discarding the material essence of others, would of itself furnish a valid reason to assume that, although the divine patronage of Pagan gods and ceremonials, involving the recognition of a Jupiter, Minerva, Apollo, or Adonis, were relentlessly destroyed, a complete change of objective point and direct allusion satisfied the Christian legislator and zealous evangelist.

It may also well be supposed that no association of builders, still clinging to the mystical rites of Pagan worship, whose initiation was a perpetual lesson to the neophyte of the transcendent powers of a heathen deity, would be permitted by the new sect to pollute, with prŏfane hands, the sacred material used in the construction of edifices for the religion of Christ. If, therefore, these corporations were to maintain an existence recognized by public law, it became necessary that their organic frame should be remodelled to conform to the essential principles of the Christian faith. Consequently, when traditions, descended from sources identical with a religion expanding and developing under royal favor, presented themselves in the reconstruction of ancient Roman corporations, the Byzantine builders naturally embodied these conceptions as substitutes for heathen legends. Jewish rites and ceremonials, combined with traditional lore, largely aided in moulding the architectural guilds of Byzantium into a harmony with Christian notions.

[1] XVI., *Cod. Theod.*; Tit. X., *De Paganis, Sacrificiis et Templis.*

CHAPTER XXXII.

JEWISH INFLUENCE IN REMODELLING EASTERN COLLEGES — ISRAELITISH SCHOLARS AND MATHEMATICIANS — FURORE FOR ANCIENT RITES OF THE HEBREWS — ROMAN EMPERORS BORROW FROM MOSAIC LEGISLATION — KING SOLOMON'S TEMPLE — LEGENDS OF THE JEWS SUBSTITUTED IN BYZANTINE CORPORATIONS FOR PAGAN TRADITIONS — MERGED INTO GOTHIC SODALITIES — MARVELLOUS SCIENTIFIC AND MENTAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE LOMBARDS — PAPAL PRIVILEGES TO THE FREEMASONS — POLITICAL TROUBLES DRIVE SKILLED ARCHITECTS TO ITALY — RECEIVED BY, AND AFFILIATE WITH, THEIR COLLEGIATE BRETHREN — JUNCTION OF BYZANTINE BUILDING CORPORATIONS WITH GOTHIC GUILDS.

AFTER the destruction of the Israelitish nationality by the legions of Rome, the Jews were widely scattered throughout Persia, Mesopotamia, and other portions of the Roman empire, where they founded academies and institutions of learning.[1] In whatever provinces the Jews settled, they immediately became famous as profoundly learned mathematicians, astronomers, and geometricians. The Spanish Moors were greatly indebted to their Jewish subjects for an academy, instituted by rabbis from the East. The celebrity of this scholastic institution extended so far, that many scholars were attracted to it from other cities of Spain and elsewhere.[2] History has preserved the names of several distinguished Israelites who wrote learned treatises on geometry.[3] Although the Jews of Western Europe, at a

[1] Depping, *Die Juden im Mittelalter*, p. 64.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 64, 66.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 73–81.

later period, were treated with great severity under Charlemagne, their condition was a satisfactory one.[1] He commissioned a Jew to visit the East, on account of his vast Oriental learning; another Jew brought for him, by sea, many costly fabrics, which the emperor highly prized.[2]

It is uncertain at what time this people arrived in Northern Europe,[3] but it may be gathered from the edicts of the earlier Gallic kings that the Jews were regularly domiciled in the empire, and carried on mercantile trade[4] as early as the sixth century. In Alexandria this race was constantly brought into contact with philosophers and sophists of varied schools, and borrowed largely from Greek philosophy. Many rabbis enumerated over twenty thousand scholars, to whom nothing but Judaistic theology was taught.

Learned Jews ultimately concluded that all the lore of their fathers was not transmitted in writing by Moses, but that much of it had been perpetuated by the Jewish lawgiver in an oral form. These traditions were recorded in books with interpretations of erudite Jews. Rabbi Raf-Asch, in his compilations of these cabalistic legends, laid the foundation of a polemical spirit which subsequently served as a pretext for persecution by the Christians.[5] Until the dissolution of the Western empire, the Israelites were in an advantageous social or civil condition, and their religion respected.[6] They were apparently numerously domiciled in

[1] They were certainly allowed to exercise civil rights, and evidently possessed much influence in the Carlovingian dominions. Vide Baluz., *Capitul. Reg. Franc.*, Tome I., pp. 173, 219, 453.

[2] Under the ban in Venice in the tenth century. Depping, *Histoire du Commerce*, Tome II., p. 231.

[3] Heinecci, *Antiquitates Germanicae*, Tome II., p. 382.

[4] A decree of Charlemagne forbid sacerdotal vessels being sold to merchant Jews. Baluz., *Capit. Reg. Franc.*, Capit. V.; *Carol. Mag.*, cap. 5.

[5] Depping, *Die Juden im Mittelalter*, p. 10, *et seq.*

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 30.

Rome during the age of Julius Cæsar, whose untimely death was sincerely lamented by this people;[1] and also under Augustus, the Jews practised in the Roman capital their ancient cumbersome rites.[2] Their customs and creed influenced very largely the residents and citizens of the great metropolis.[3] On account of the frequent quarrels between the followers of Christ and rigid adherents to the Mosaic law, the Jews were expelled from Rome by Claudius, only to return.[4]

In the time of Saint Paul, many Jewish synagogues existed in Greece, and a large population of Jews seems to have been scattered throughout that portion of the empire.[5] St. Jerome candidly avowed his obligations to this people, who taught him the Hebrew language.[6] Notwithstanding the inhabitants of Judea, in the times of Christianity, were not permitted to assume the robes of public office, they were allowed full judicial power under private law. The Mosaic digests constituted the invariable rule of right for the nations of Palestine. This concession was not, however, uniformly tolerated in other provinces of the empire.

[1] Praecipueque Judaei, qui etiam notibus continuis bustum frequentarunt. Suetonius, *Vita Jul. Cæs.*, cap. 84.

[2] Sueton., *Vita August.*, cap. 76. Tiberius waged an uncompromising warfare against Egyptian and Jewish rites, with fire and perpetual expulsion from Rome. Ibid., *In vit. Tiber.*, cap. 36. Vide Josephus, *Antiqui. Judae.*, Lib. XVIII., c. 5, and Gibbon, *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Vol. IV., p. 30.

[3] Lecky, *History of European Morals from Augustus to Charlemagne*, Vol. I., pp. 248, 405. During this and subsequent times, the Jews were recognized by the Christians themselves as superior exorcists. *Ibid.* This potency was supposed to consist in the use of the name of Jehovah. They were apparently classed as *mathematici*, and were under strict surveillance. *Collatio Mosaicarum et Romanarum Legum*, Tit. XV., *De Mathematicis.* These exorcists were frequently expelled the city. Suet., *August.*, cap. 94; Ibid., *In vit. Tiber.*, *u supra.* One of them prophesied the accession of Adrian to the royal purple. Spartianus, *Vit. Adrian*, cap. 2.

[4] Sueton., *Vit. Claud.*, cap. 25.

[5] Draper, *Intellec. Develop. of Europe*, p. 203, *et seq.*

[6] Depping, *op. cit.*, pp. 26–30.

After the formal declaration that Christianity should thenceforth be the religion of Rome, the emperors borrowed largely from the Books of Moses, for the purpose of incorporating the divinely instituted principles of this wise legislator in the Roman codes.[1]

During the reign of Theodosius II., a compilation, or rather collation, of the Roman and Mosaic laws was drawn up and published, evidently by the Jews, in order to show how largely Judaic law furnished material for the collections of the imperial Pandects.[2] The author of this digest is unknown, but has been attributed to Rufinus.[3] It is cited as *Mosaicarum et Romanarum legum collatio*,[4] and during the Middle Ages attained to considerable repute under the name of *Lex Dei vel Pariator legum Mosaicarum et Romanarum*.[5]

Under the later Roman emperors the social and municipal condition of the Jews was expressly recognized by equitable laws.[6] From the imperial guarantee of Jewish rights and privileges, conceded by Constantine the Great in the year 330,[7] and successively reaffirmed by ensuing rulers, it may be gathered that numerous synagogues were established at that period in Constantinople, and preserved a vigorous existence there under the sanction of the several royal rescripts down to the fifth century.[8]

It will, therefore, sufficiently appear that Judaistic in-

[1] Gothofred., *Proleg. Cod. Theodos.*, p. cxc.; Schweppe, *Römische Rechtsgeschichte*, p. 308.

[2] Mackeldey, *Römische Recht*, Bd. I., p. 78.

[3] Heinecci, *Historia Juris Civilis Romani*, Lib. I., p. 337. The learned historian of the Roman law dissipates this obscure suggestion with a breath.

[4] This spiritless digest is arranged in a tripartite form. The Mosaic proposition leads the text, with analogous decisions of Paulus and Ulpian subjoined.

[5] Mackeldey, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

[6] Heinecci, *op. cit.*, Lib. I., p. 363.

[7] *Cod. Theod.*, XVI.; Tit. VIII., *De Judaeis, et seq.*

[8] Gothofred., *Commentar.*, in *Cod. Theod.*, cap. ii. A large portion of the Theodosian code is devoted to establishing a legal status for the Jews, and is not the least interesting of the imperial rescripts.

fluence, both as regards the vitality of its doctrines, the concessions of legislation, and the wide extent of citizenship in foreign lands, around the Mediterranean Sea and Byzantium, vastly contributed to mould into shape many phases of social life, ecclesiastical and lay, which were rapidly imitating the Christian church in assuming such form as appeared most politic and consistent with the new order of things.

Jewish learning and traditions were undoubtedly known to the Grecian architects of Constantinople. Mathematical knowledge, for which the Jews at an early period of that era were justly celebrated, was necessarily much sought after by the Byzantine builders, and the intercourse which the possession of a highly prized science opened between these nationalities and denizens of the Roman capital, also furnished the opportunity for an acquaintance with the traditional lore of the Israelites.

Among the most important of these legends was that of the temple builder, whose custody of the name of Jehovah aided in constructing the Solomonian edifice at Jerusalem.[1] At a time when the ritualism of the new church was being rapidly Paganized, little surprise will be awakened that the Byzantine corporations, in deference to the prevailing tendencies of a religion patronized by the ponderous favor of a great empire, modified their ceremonials to conform to the Judaizing spirit of the age.

It is well known that the early Christians entertained a profound veneration for Mosaic rites,[2] and a furore for the cumbersome solemnities of Jewish observances spread with startling rapidity, to such extent that Juvenal

[1] Closely allied with the cabalistic Gematria, in which the secret of architectural science was supposed to lie. Pfeiffer, *Critica Sacra de Sacri. Codic.*, cap. vii.

[2] Vide Draper, *Hist. of the Intellec. Develop. of Europe*, chap. ix., for succinct and comprehensive statement of the Judaizing proclivities of the first Christains. Also, Baumgarten-Crusius, *Dogmengeschichte*, pp. 126, 217.

satirized them. The Empress Poppae, it is said, became a convert to Israelitish customs.[1] The building of King Solomon's temple at Jerusalem was deeply rooted in the minds of Jewish exiles. Maimonides, a distinguished sectarian of this people, early in the Middle Ages, wrote a detailed treatise of this edifice, and Perrault attempted to rebuild it from the description of the rabbi.[2] This celebrated structure seems to have been to the Jew what the Kebla was to the Arab. So far was this notion carried among the Palestine refugees, that David Kimichi declared the whole world divisible into six parts, and that Jerusalem was situated exactly in the centre of the universe.[3]

The conversion of Rome to Christianity gave a new impetus to the study of Judaic writings, and to the examination of their doctrines.[4] Amid the active pressure of such vital forces, it was impossible that a full knowledge of Israelitish traditions and legendary lore should not be made accessible to the artificers of Byzantium, and quickly assimilated by them. So thoroughly imbued were the Greek builders with the Judaistic element which surrounded them in Constantinople, that it was largely infused by these craftsmen into the formularies of Gothic guilds existing in Northern Italy at the time of their arrival in the fifth century.

It has been stated already that the earliest use of marks by architects in Europe, is traceable to the Eastern corporations, and through them to the ancient Syrian and Jewish builders, and that these proprietary tokens, at a subsequent

[1] Lecky, *Hist. of Morals from Augustus to Charlemagne*, Vol. I., p. 410.

[2] Depping, *Die Juden im Mittelalter*, p. 81.

[3] *Commentar. in Psalm* 87. Est Judea terrarum fere media. Sabellicus, *Ennead.*, VII., Lib. I., in Leopardi, *Saggio Sopra gli Errori popolari degli Antichi*, p. 208. It may be added here that the temple at Jerusalem was accessible to both Jews and Gentiles. Selden, *De Synedriis Veter. Ebraeor.*, p. 157.

[4] How far the Mosaic doctrines affected the imperial rescripts may be gathered from the learned treatise of Gothofred, prefixed to his edition of Theodosius. Vide *Proleg. Cod. Theod.*, cap. iii.

period of the Middle Ages, constituted an important portion of lodge ritual among operative Masons. In addition to this, the more prominent traditions of the Hellenistic Jews — such, for instance, as the legend of Hiram the temple builder, and the efficacy of Jehovah's true name or omnific word, together with points of lesser significance — were transmitted by Byzantine workmen to Teutonic sodalities. At what period of time the merging of this Jewish legendary element into Germanic guilds occurred, cannot be fixed with exactness, but it is a rational assumption that such fusion began near the epoch when Theoderich the Goth ordered Greek builders from the East, and was, perhaps, not fully perfected for some centuries after.

Whether the continuance of Gothic dominion in Italy was of sufficient duration for a free interchange of ritualistic ceremonials between ancient Germanic guilds and Grecian associations, cannot be definitely stated. The junction of the two systems may have had its inception under the Ostrogoths, but was more nearly completed during Longobardic rule in Northern Italy. Scarcely had two centuries elapsed before the Lombards had placed Europe under great obligations for many new developments in trade, finance, and legislation. The whole of that complex and ingenious system of exchange, banking, insurance,[1] book-keeping, commercial and marine law, either originated or was developed into practical utility by this people. The business of public loans was also invented, and has since preserved a healthy existence.[2]

When the edicts of Rotharis and Liutiprand, Longobardic kings, were promulged, — the first in the year 643 and the latter in the early part of the eighth century,[3] —

[1] The essential principle of insurance was practised by the ancient Northmen, and seems to have been an integral element in the original Icelandic Constitution. Dahlmann, *Geschichte von Dännemark*, Bd. II.

[2] Hope, *Essay on Architecture*, p. 224.

[3] In the year 729. Merkel, *Die Geschichte des Longobardenrechts*, p. 18.

the inhabitants of Como had already attained to so high a degree of skill as to be designated magistri comacini, or masters of Como.[1] Minute and specific regulations were enacted for the wages which these masons and architects should receive for their labors.[2]

It is clear that the Longobardi, without foreign instruction, could never have mastered the details of building art within the period of one and a half centuries, when it is considered that the initial point was barbarism. As already stated in this work, nearly the entire knowledge of fine arts at this epoch, in Europe, was under the control of the church, who obtained it from Byzantium. Greek architectural corporations, possessed of the exclusive details of building churches, under ecclesiastical sanction, communicated their art to the people of Northern Italy, where, by the express decree of Theoderich, they were permitted to preserve their right of association and immunities in accordance with the laws of the Eastern empire, or to live by such customs as they might elect.[3]

The secret arts thus obtained by the Teutonic races were perpetuated in fraternities or guilds, whose existence ascends to the oldest forms of Germanic government. Whenever the Christian missionaries were sent from Rome or elsewhere to teach the faith to the rude and uncultured natives of Germany, they brought their builders with them from Italy, and exercised a general supervision over the churches which their converts raised.[4] If these corporations of builders, thus fraternizing with the secret societies of Europe, existed at all, they must, in

[1] *Edictum Rotharis Reg.*, cap. cxliii.— iv., and *Edictum Luitprandi Regis*, cap. clvii., *et seq.*, *Memorator. de Mercedes Comacinorum.* This word master — magister — is an evident perpetuation of the cumbersome imperial offices of Byzantium. Vide VL, *Cod. Theod.*, Tit. VII.–IX.

[2] Each master should receive a certain quantity of corn, ten pounds of lard, an urn of wine, a fixed quantity of vegetables and salt: Segale, lardo libras decem, vino urna una, etc. *De Merced. Comac.*, *loc. cit.*, cap. clviii.

[3] Heinecci, *Antiquit. Germanicae*, Tome I., p. 346.

[4] Hope, *Historical Essay of Architecture*, p. 214.

an age which acknowledged the civil and ecclesiastical supremacy of the Pope, preserve their integrity under papal control.[1] Whether sacerdotal sanction was expressed in the form of charters,[2] or bulls conceding these art-guilds an exemption from local regulation in the countries of Northern Europe, which is probable,[3] or whether it was universally agreed that they were under the patronage of the Pope, and, as such, absolved from territorial restrictions, is uncertain. At all events, no charters of the kind adverted to have descended with traditions of the craft. Under such special protection of the pontiff, the Romans themselves joined these Masonic associations in great numbers, especially in cases where they were destined to accompany into unexplored regions of the North such missionaries as were deputed by their chief.

The intimate relations, both as to trade and industry, existing between Constantinople and the cities of Lombardy, brought, as we have hitherto narrated, large bodies of Greek artists into Italy, and these, together with the Byzantine artificers who had fled to escape the fury of the iconoclastic war, were taken into the lodges and affiliated with these new Masonic corporations.[4] Frequent conver-

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 231, and Stieglitz, *Geschichte der Baukunst*, p. 425.

[2] *Archæologia*, Vol. IX., pp. 114, 120. According to Wilda, *Das Gilden Wesen im Mittelalter*, p. 96, the earliest record of royal or statutory recognition of any guild was merely confirmatory of existing usages and customs. No charter was contemplated at the organization of these associations, which, as we shall presently see, are coeval with the Teutonic constitution. Vide Toulman Smith, *English Guilds, Introduction, pertôt.*

[3] It was barely possible for these early Masonic corporations to escape the necessity of presenting themselves with an authority superior to local jurisdictions. In many countries of Europe, numerous restrictions were placed about forest timber, and none could be felled without a special permit from proper officers, — a privilege conceded with extreme caution. Each piece must also be marked with an official brand. Maurer, *Geschichte der Markenverfassung*, pp. 129, 132; Pardessus, *L'Organisation Judiciare*, p. 267, etc.

[4] "The political factions of Constantinople, and, above all, the fury of the iconoclasts, continued to cause a constant influx of Greek artists into Italy; many Greeks were likewise taken into the gradually-increasing circle of their lodges and filiations." Hope, *On Architecture*, p. 233.

sion of the natives of the North to the religion of Christ caused a demand for the erection of sacred edifices, to meet the wants of rapidly-increasing proselytes, and, in consequence, it became necessary to have architects competent to design churches, monasteries, and convents. Corporations of builders were dispatched from Northern Italy to the Gallic and Germanic provinces, under the direction of evangelists, to provide the inhabitants with suitable places of worship.[1]

In the year 774, Charlemagne terminated the Longobardic empire by the defeat of Desiderius. From this time the Masonic sodalities, under the patronage of the Carlovingian dynasty, enjoyed a freer immunity in the vast dominions of the German emperor, who, as previously asserted, earnestly coöperated with the ecclesiastical authorities of the Latin church to advance the temporal interests of his empire, the principal of which was architectural art.

The opportunity thus afforded for the introduction of regularly-organized building corporations among the people of Northern Europe was eagerly seized by the natives to unite themselves with these bodies[2] — rendered more feasible by the merging of traditions contributed by Byzantine initiates into the superstitious and mythological customs of Germanic guilds. Clerical influence certainly aided to secure the initiation of heathen converts into the mystical rites of these fraternities, in order that an additional means might be furnished for propagating ecclesiastical authority, to establish a moral restraint over the proselytes, and also that a supply of competent workmen might be insured. Mr. Hope[3] conjectures that the associations of Freemasons were first formed in Lombardy. This is no doubt correct as to the locality, but their inception may be more accurately dated back to the period of Gothic rule. It may be safely asserted that the junction

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 236, etc.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 233.

of Byzantine corporations with Teutonic guilds afforded the substantial basis of subsequent lodge appointments and ritualism, such as have descended to modern Freemasonry. Actual contact with Roman civilization in Italy to some extent modified and altered many of the essential parts of ancient guildic observances, and materially assisted in moulding into an acceptable form such elements of Freemasonry as have been hitherto demonstrated to be descended from the ancient Teutons and Gothic courts, which were a close imitation of heathen temples.[1]

It has been clearly shown[2] that the Lombards used largely the imperial codes and rescripts which they found in the conquered provinces, and also essentially changed their own judicial code in order to conform to what prevailed among the vanquished Romans.[3]

Prudence evidently dictated this change; because, in the sanguinary conflicts between the Longobards and people of Italy, many of the former were destroyed.[4] When, at length, a peace had been concluded between the belligerents, each Roman ceded to the invading Lombard a third part of his landed estate. Christian influence also tended to gradually transform the ruder and more objectionable features with which the early Oriental artificers were brought in contact, and rendered a gradual assimilation of Eastern usages with Northern customs and traditions easy and practicable. In this way, it may be inferred, the foundation of a junction between Eastern and Western legends was laid, broad and deep, on the plains of Lombardy. The full and complete details of this union were rounded up when the corporations of builders mingled with the natives of Northern Europe, before civilization or necessity had demanded important alterations of religious customs.

[1] Simrock, *Deutsche Mythologie*, p. 517.

[2] Savigny, *Geschichte des Römischen Rechts*, Bd. I., pp. 289, 296, 402.

[3] *Ibid.*, Bd. II., pp. 209, 273, and Mackeldey, *Römische Recht*, p. 81.

[4] Savigny, *op. cit.*, Bd. I., p. 399.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

CHRISTIANITY RETAINS NORTHERN SUPERSTITIONS — TEUTONIC BANQUETS PRESERVED BY FREEMASONRY — TOASTS TO THE DEAD — CHRISTIAN SAINTS SUBSTITUTED FOR HEATHEN DIVINITIES — HEATHEN RITES AND CUSTOMS UNCHANGED BY PROFESSORS OF THE NEW RELIGION — CHURCHES ERECTED ON SITES OF PAGAN TEMPLES — FESTIVAL DAYS CONTINUED BY CHRISTIAN PRIESTS — GUILDS MAINTAIN ANCIENT USAGES.

WHATEVER may have been the immediate causes which produced the rapid conversion of the German nations to the doctrines of Christianity, it is not within the scope of this work to determine. The leading policy of the Roman church was to invest, as far as practical, the tenets of the new faith with the garb of the mythological observances and practices of their converts. This design was expressly inculcated in a letter of instruction which Gregory the Great sent to St. Augustine, who had entered on his evangelical mission to the Anglo-Saxons.[1] Strictly adhering to a policy pursued with such illustrious results in the conversion of Pagan Rome, the early Christian missionaries consecrated the temples of Northern deities to the use of the church of Christ, and national customs, in obedience to the prejudices of new proselytes, were gradually adapted to celebrating the religion of the cross. The heathens had been accustomed to enliven the solemn rites of their superstitions by the merriment of the table.

[1] Lingard, *Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, p. 24.

A universal practice among these Paganistic Northmen permitted a participation in hilarious feasts, whose principal diet was furnished by victims offered up on the altars of their divinities. At these banquets the heroic deeds of distinguished warriors were sung,[1] and toasts drank, amid uproarious glee, to the memory of deceased friends and in honor of their gods.[2] Gregory directed that similar entertainments should be allowed to new converts, and ordered, on *fête* days of martyrs, after religious service had been commemorated, that banquets should be spread in tents adjoining the church, and the same customs continued which prevailed with the heathens.[3] Here the toast to Odin, Thor, or Frey, was substituted to the honor of our Saviour and the saints.[4] No change was attempted in the memorial bowl to departed friends.[5] When a distinguished Scandinavian died, it was an usage freely observed that his heir should, at the first convenient opportunity, invite the retainers and associates of the deceased to a sumptuous feast, during which it was expected of his legal representative to empty a cup to the memory of the defunct. Afterwards he ascended the high seat, always occupied by the master of the house, placed between two columns. This occupancy was regarded as a sign of assuming possession of the heritage.[6] The revelry which sometimes ensued

[1] Ibid., *loc. cit.*

[2] Mallet, *Northern Antiquities*, p. 197; Thorpe, *Northern Mythology*, Vol. I., p. 271; also, Grimm, *Deutsche Rechts Alterthümer*, pp. 793, 822.

[3] Lingard, *Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, p. 24.

[4] Mallet, *Northern Antiquities*, p. 113; Thorpe, *Northern Mythology*, Vol. I., p. 270. The toast proposed by Hagan, at the conclusion of the Burgundian feast to Siegfried's memory, is a clear derivation of this usage. Vide Wilmar, *Literatur Geschichte*, p. 83, an. (*).

[5] On the decease of a guild brother, memorial services were sometimes held for three successive days, but on the third day toasts were drank to all dead members. Tertiam vero in tertio die potationis pro omnibus fratribus defunctis. Wilda, *Das Gilden Wesen im Mittlealter*, p. 123, note (1).

[6] Vide Wilda, *op. cit.*, pp. 6, 8.

in consequence of bacchanalian songs, although tolerated by a prudent clergy, ultimately attained to such gross indecency that a concerted effort was made by the more moderate converts to check this tendency, and was partially successful.[1]

The custom of toasting the memory of departed members of the Masonic fraternity on festal occasions has come down from this semi-religious observance of the ancient Germans.[2] At the feasts of the Northern people, a garland of flowers, with a rose prominently in the centre, was suspended from the ceiling above the table, as a symbol that everything which might be done or spoken by the participants in the banquet should be held strictly secret.[3] This is the origin of the phrase "sub-rosâ." In the Gothic code the rose was an emblem of secrecy,[4] and was thus considered by the mediæval operative Masons. Among the Masonic symbols displayed on the chiselled walls and in the delicate tracery of European cathedrals, the sculptured rose frequently appears.[5]

Many attributes previously assigned to subordinate Northern deities survived to their Christian successors, the saints and martyrs. In accordance with a usage prevailing in olden times of superstition, when heathen gods were called on in conjuration and magic spells, Christ and the holy martyrs were subsequently invoked for like purposes.

[1] Mallet, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

[2] Mediæval Masonic toasts were drank in three cadences. Fallou, *Mysterien der Freimaurer*, p. 65. These banquets were conducted according to ancient custom, and developed into elaborate details. *Regulateur du Maçon* (Prem. Grad.), p. 40, *et seq.*

[3] Schauberg, *Symbolik der Freimaurerei*, Bd. I., p. 203, and Grimm, *Deutsche Rechts Alterthümer*, p. 203.

[4] Die rose bezeichnet nicht sowohl das Urtheil als die *heimlichkeit* und *stille* des Gerichts. Grimm, *Deutsche Rechts Alterthümer*, p. 911.

[5] Stieglitz, *Geschichte der Baukunst*, cap. xl. There are some fine specimens of this rose work in the Heidelberg castle. Mystical signification of the three roses formerly on a Master's apron. Vide Winzer, *Die Deutschen Bruderschaften des Mittelalters*, p. 152, *et seq.*

Numerous religious rites, used in the formal celebration of a *fête* day sacred to a heathen divinity, maintained an undiminished vitality under the adoration of saints; the only alteration was merely an act of subrogation. Reverence of shrines and martyred relicts perpetuated Teutonic heathen worship of the dead. The manner in which Clovis venerated Saint Martin attests that he regarded him more as a mythological deity than a Christian saint. In order to learn the issue of a war against the Wisigoths, this Gallic king sent to the martyr's sepulchre, as to an oracle, for information.[1] It was a custom among Pagan Norsemen to carry the image or symbol of a goddess around the fields, for the purpose of insuring fertility of soil. This usage was propagated by converts to Christianity.

Superstitious observances, in honor or in fear of heathen deities, continued, with slight alteration, under the new religion.[2] Nerthus, a Teutonic deëss, was drawn about in a carriage, in festive procession, through several districts of Germany.[3] In Christian times, especially on the opening of spring, the same solemn ceremony was performed. On such occasions a symbol, having a direct allusion to this divinity, was also carried around, and received its share of devotional adoration.

In the year 1133, a procession, entirely after this fashion, took place, under the manipulation of a guild of weavers, and was attended with great bacchanalian festivity. This celebration prevailed so late as the year 1330, when further indulgence was prohibited by a decree of an ecclesiastical council held at Ulm.[4] To this day it is usual to kindle bonfires in Germany on St. John's day, Christmas, and Easter. These fires thus lighted at stated intervals are the remnants of heathen mystical rites, whose observance con-

[1] Thorpe, *Northern Mythology*, Vol. I., p. 271. [2] *Ibid.*, pp. 274–9.
[3] Tacitus, *Germania*, cap. 40.
[4] Thorpe, *Northern Mythology*, Vol. I., p. 283, etc. Full details in Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, p. 237, *et seq.*; also, Simrock, *Deutsche Mythologie*, p. 520.

tinued in the Christian church under new names. It has been clearly demonstrated[1] that the traditions of fairy prowess and dwarf skill are directly descended from old North sagas, and that no radical change was ever made in the thought and popular belief of proselytes to the religion of Christ, excepting in an external form. For instance, the notions of people respecting their gods were altered to render them diabolical and repulsive. Giants and Frost deities still preserved an undisputed existence, but were associated with evil and injury, of which they were made the instruments.[2]

The nursery tale of Jack and the Bean Stalk contains unequivocal allusions to ancient Norse superstitions, perpetuated, notwithstanding the changes necessarily effected by the adoption of Christianity. One incident in the romance corresponds exactly with the device of the giant Skinner when Thor travelled to Utgord.[3] As previously urged in the preceding pages, our Saviour and his saints were substituted for heathen gods, and endowed with their supernal attributes. A remarkable example of this mythological vitality may be seen in the following poem, discovered and published by Grimm:[4]

"Phol endi Wôdan,	Phol and Wodan,
Vuoru zi holza:	Went to the woods;
Du wart demo Balderes volon,	Then was of Balder's colt
Sîn vuoz birenkit;	His foot wrenched;
Thu biguolen Sinthgunt,	Then charmed it Sinthgunt,
Sunnâ era Suister;	And Sunna her sister;
Thu biguolen Fruâ,	Then charmed it Frua
Vollâ era Suister;	And Volla her sister;
Thu biguolen Wôdan	Then charmed it Wodan
So he wola conda,	As well he could,
Sôse bêwrenki,	As well the bone-wrench,
Sôse bluotrenki,	As well the blood-wrench,
Sôse lidirenki;	As well the joint-wrench.
* * * * * * * * *	

[1] Keightly, *Fairy Mythology*, p. 62, *et seq.*

[2] Thorpe, *op. cit.*, Vol. II., *Introd.*, p. xix. [3] Edda, *Gylfaginning*, c. 46.

[4] Grimm, *Ueber Zwei entdeckte Gedichte aus der Zeit des Deuts. Heidenthums.*

Bên zi bêna,	Bone to bone,
Bluot zi bluoda,	Blood to blood,
Lid zi geliden,	Joint to joint,
Sôse gelîmida sîn."	As if glued together.

In its Christian form it reads in Norwegian verse:[1]

"Jesus reed sig til Heede,	Jesus rode to the heath,
Der reed han syndt sit Folebeen.	There he rode the leg of his colt in two;
Jesus stgide af og laegte det;	Jesus dismounted and healed it;
Jesus lagde Morv i Morv,	Jesus laid marrow to marrow,
Ben i ben, Kjöd i Kjöd;	Bone to bone, flesh to flesh;
Jesus lagde derpaa et Blad,	Jesus laid thereon a leaf
At det skulde blive i samme stad."	That it might remain in the same place.

The Christmas tree and Jack's bean-stalk are also imitated after the ash or Yggdrasil[2] of the Scandinavian mythology.

Whatever may have been the real wishes of the evangelists who introduced the Christian faith among the Germanic races, it was utterly impossible to prevent the perpetuation of Paganistic customs, and sometimes a total relapse into heathen ceremonies. To render opposition effective, a well informed clergy was indispensable; but, unfortunately, of such there were few, and too often, indeed, they were men of profane and ungodly lives. Not unfrequently it occurred, as in the case mentioned in the life of Saint Gall,[3] in an oratory dedicated to Saint Aurelia, idols, even after conversion, were worshipped with sacrifices, and proselyted Franks, during their irruption into Italy, still sacrificed human victims.[4] Oftentimes

[1] Thorpe, *Northern Mythology*, Vol. I., p. 23.

[2] The vast resources offered to the mediæval Freemasons by Northern symbolism were freely used. Among other emblematic delineations drawn from an unadulterated Paganism, were carved statuettes and embossed figures, the sun and moon, and the Yggdrasil, with a wolf gnawing at its roots. Luebke, *Geschichte der Plastik*, pp. 298, 325. Mythology in church architecture. Simrock, *Deutsche Mythologie*, p. 496.

[3] Thorpe, *Northern Mythology*, Vol. I., p. 266.

[4] In the year 554, Childbert, king of the Franks, issued a decree directing

when zealous missionaries fondly believed the natives thoroughly converted to doctrines which they boldly professed, the return of those seasons during which the new converts were accustomed to celebrate with uproariousness the joyous festivals of heathen times, caused a sudden reaction to the idolatrous practices of their ancestors, but in all such relapses a politic hierarchy, on a faint indication of penitence, grandly forgave the impetuous Paganized Christian by a "laying on of hands."[1]

So long as the people confessed to the new faith and were baptized, the reverend priests themselves performed sacrifices to popular divinities.[2] Saint Boniface[3] bitterly complained that many assumed the offices of priesthood without being consecrated, and preached the doctrines of Christ neither according to the Romish creed nor in churches, but boldly proclaimed it in open fields or on the hill-tops, in places where ancient worship was solemnized. Crosses were also frequently erected there, and magic and soothsaying freely practised.[4] Of this species of heathenism maintaining a vigorous vitality, was the magical potency attributed to certain Runic characters carved on slender columns, which magicians carried around with them and used in prognosticating.[5]

Many things savoring strongly of Paganism were allowed to continue undisturbed by the priests from abso-

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the discontinuance of all idolatrous sacrifices, but with little effect, since a more rigid edict of Charlemagne was published against idol worship by human sacrifices. Baluz., *Capitular. Regum Franco.*, Tome I., pp. 6, 849.

[1] Per manus impositionem, absolutione precum sacerdotalium. *Ibid.*, Tome I., Lib. V., cap. cxxxiii.

[2] Boniface, *Epist.*, 25. Vide Thorpe, *Northern Mythology*, Vol. I., p. 266.

[3] *Epistol.*, 87.

[4] Thorpe, *Northern Mythology*, Vol. I., p. 267. In the time of Charlemagne, the potency of the cross was expressly recognized in judicial proceedings. Baluz., *Capitul. Regum Francor.*, Tome I., p. 197. Also, in King Pepin's reign. *Ibid.*, Tome I., p. 164. See *Addit. Legem Salicam*, an. 3, cap. 1.

[5] Olaus Magnus, *Hist. Septri. ac vario Condit.*, p. 47.

lute necessity, otherwise the whole social fabric of the Teutonic races must have been disintegrated. Political institutions, particularly of a beneficial nature, were left untouched. Heathen usages, venerable and inviolable, on account of their high antiquity, survived ecclesiastical changes, unless, perhaps, in the case of the Longobardi in Italy, who apparently conformed to the Roman code. In consequence of this policy of the church, the time and place of judicial procedure, and the method of legal transactions, maintained a steadfast connection with heathen sacrificial and festive localities,[1] although the offerings formerly made by the Pagans were discontinued. Even so late as the age of Childeric, the high powers of ecclesiastical and imperial authority were invoked for the purpose of extinguishing many of the grosser Paganistic practices. Trial by ordeal, by fire or water, under a Christian garb, withstood the altered necessities of religious worship.[3]

In unnumbered instances, the clergy were powerless to effect a radical transformation, as in matters of warfare and the heathenism usually practised under the sanction of the battle god; consequently, many usages, the relics of Northern mythology, were absorbed into the newly developed Christian structure, or preserved their ground by force of law and immemorial custom. Few attempts were made by the earlier missionaries to interfere with spiritual interdicts between the social relations of their converts. One case may be specially cited, where an over-zealous evangelist lost his life by censuring a Frank-

[1] Vide *Indicul. Superstit. et Pagan*, cap. v.–xviii.

[2] Baluz., *op. cit.*, Tome I., p. 6, *et seq.*: *De abolendis reliquiis idolatriae et de sacror. dierum festivil., etc.*

[3] Opfer tilgte der Christenglaube, er liest aber die alten Gerichtsstätten ungestört. Grimm, *Deutsche Rechts Alterthümer*, p. 793. The three court days undisturbed. *Ibid.*, p. 822. Heims et ver et aestas intellectum ac vocabula habent. Tac., *Germania*, c. 26. The trials noted, substantially, are found to be of Asiatic origin. Lea, *Superstit. and Force*, chap. iii.

ish prince, who had espoused a kinswoman within the degree proscribed by canon law.

From sheer necessity, evangelizing ministers were compelled to proceed with much precaution whenever they were unable to extirpate integral portions of ancient religious ceremonies. In the usual clerical policy, heathen ideas and external representation were temporized with, and invested with a Christian garb.[1] Such accommodation appeared in the construction of churches, or the erection of crosses on places esteemed sacred by the heathens, for the purpose of excluding therefrom mythological worship, and to accustom proselytes to adore these localities in a Christian sense.

Gregory the Great instructed his missionaries to preserve Pagan temples, but to relentlessly destroy all idols contained in them. Wherever the edifice was suitably constructed, he directed that the building should be sprinkled with holy water, altars erected, and martyre reliques deposited in them, in order that the structure, within whose walls the frenzied rites of Odin or Frey had been celebrated, might be reclaimed from diabolical services unto the worship of the true God.[2]

An additional reason was urged by the astute pontiff. In strict harmony with the entire proselyting scheme, which we have seen unswervingly pursued in paganizing the early Christian church, so that no well-settled tendencies might be shocked by great social or religious changes of form, it was argued by the illustrious Pope that the Germanic people, seeing their sacred structures left untouched, would the more rapidly abjure their erroneous faith, and, recognizing the one Almighty, would hasten to places rendered familiar by custom.

The wood of the oak, felled with such fiery zeal by

[1] Thorpe, *Northern Mythology*, Vol. I., p. 208.
[2] Beda, *Histor. Ecclesia.*, Lib. I., c. 30.

Boniface, and the gold of the Longobardic snake, were manufactured into an altar and sacred utensils, so that the popular mind might be gradually familiarized with a transmission from the old to the new faith. As already narrated, the great festival days of the heathen Teutons were celebrated under the names of canonized saints; and wherever it had been the custom, during these periodical carousals, to sacrifice animals to mythical divinities, by explicit instruction of Gregory[1] a like usage was to be recognized under the new dispensation, "because it was impossible to divest the mind instantaneously of long continued habits; for whoever would ascend a mountain, could arrive only step by step, not at a single leap."[2] Here, therefore, was the most emphatic recognition of the policy pursued by the Romish church in securing the adherence of converts to the religion of Christ — a system which opened a pathway for the introduction of Christianity, but rendered the complete extirpation of heathenism impossible. To these circumstances, no doubt, can be attributed the perpetuation of Pagan formularies used in the Gothic courts, and the continuation of mythological rites and ceremonies in mediæval guilds, which conjointly furnished to Freemasonry the skeleton of Norse customs, upon which Judaistic ritualism was strung.

[1] Beda, *Historia Ecclesiast.*, Lib. I., c. 30.

[2] Nam duris mentibus simul omnia abscidere impossibile esse non dubium est; quia et is qui summum locum ascendere nititur gradibus vel passibus non autem saltibus elevatur. Beda, *op. cit., Epist. ad Melitum.* The reverend father closes his epistle to Melitus with an illustration drawn from Jewish history.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

TEUTONIC SODALITIES COEVAL WITH THE GERMAN RACES — NEVER DESTROYED — GUILDS INSTITUTED IN MONASTERIES — PRESERVE HEATHEN CUSTOMS — DEDICATED TO CHRISTIAN SAINTS — ANGLO-SAXON ASSOCIATIONS — MEMBERS WEAR BADGES, AND DULY OBLIGATED — GUILDS IN THE YEAR 1389 — ABJURATION FORMULA OF 743 — SOCIETIES CELEBRATE THE WORSHIP OF HEATHEN DEITIES — OPEN TO BOTH SEXES — JOINED BY NOBILITY AND ECCLESIASTICS — THE PRACTICE OF CHARITY — MUTUAL HELP ENJOINED — CHAPLAIN — GUILDS IN THE TIME OF CHARLEMAGNE — OATH-BOUND SOCIETIES — COLLEGES OF BUILDERS AND GOTHIC GUILDS — ANCIENT FORMULARIES OF TEMPLE WORSHIP PRESERVED BY THESE BODIES.

GUILDS, or associations for mutual benefit, being an important element constituting ancient Germanic society, were never eradicated by Christian evangelists. Instead of obliterating this remarkable phase of heathenism, it was suffered to remain. In this concession to popular necessity, a policy equally well-defined with that previously noted manifests itself clearly. As already stated, the introduction of Christianity among the Northern nations involved the essential alteration of the objective point of Pagan customs, by giving them a slightly variant tendency without social revolution. This was the carefully-pursued plan of the missionaries in dealing with guilds.

The history of these associations leads far back into the twilight of Teutonic antiquity, and by the almost[1] unani-

[1] Heineccius, *Antiquitates Germanicae*, Tome II., cap. vi., p. 340, assigned the origin of these societies to the Roman colleges, but more recent researches have developed their existence as stated above.

mous assertion of German and Scandinavian antiquaries the substantial principles of guilds, which prominently appeared in such diverse forms during the Middle Ages as an accurately defined element, are firmly rooted in Norse or Germanic antiquities.[1] They are coeval with the earliest records of the Gothic race. As an energizing power for the perpetuation of Christian religious tenets, the clergy, at a very early age, favored the existence and development of these unions. In fact, they imitated them within conventual walls whenever a necessity arose for a more intimate brotherhood, as, for instance, offering up mutual prayers for the safety of souls, and to assist each other in cases of distress.[2]

According to a capitulary of Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims, drawn up in the ninth century, these ecclesiastical sodalities were directly derived from the Pagan brotherhoods, and betrayed in a notable degree the strange mixture of Christianity and heathenism.[3] Their assemblies

[1] Die Geschichte des Gildenwesen fuhrt uns in die fernste Germanische vorzeit zurück. Wilda, *Das Gilden Wesen des Mittelalters*, p. 3; Lacroix, *Les Moeurs et Usages au Moyen Age*, p. 295, *et seq.* Vide Unger, *Die Altdeutsche Gerichtsverfassung*, §§ 6 and 7, for the elements of early political guilds.

[2] Wilda, *Das Gilden Wesen*, p. 34; Smith, *English Guilds*, p. 319.

[3] Zusammenkünfte ganz die Form der Gilden versammlungen angenommen und Christliches und Ungermanisches sich auch hier vermischt hatte. Wilda, *Das Gilden Wesen des Mittelalters*, p. 35. The original edict referred to is as follows: Non quasi ad prandium ibi ad tabulam resideant et per tales inconvenientes pastellos se invicem gravent quia inhonestum est et onerosum. Et singulos biberes accipiant maxime autem ultra tertiam vicem poculum ibi non contingant ad ecclesias suas reddeant. *Labbaei. Concil.*, Tome X., p. 4, from Wilda, *ut supra*. The convivialities of the banquet table seem to have been the object of religious censure. Many attempts were made by the ecclesiastical authorities to modify the excesses consequent upon such assemblages, but with indifferent success. A standing regulation of numerous English associations punished drunkenness with a fine. Smith, *English Guilds*, p. 81. One of the charges urged against the Freemasons, at a comparatively recent date, was grounded upon the hilarity of their drinking bouts, which followed each initiation. Krause, *Die Drei ältesten Kunsturkunden*, Bd. I., Ab. 1, p. 291, *et seq.* See, in this connection, Plot, *Nat. Hist. of Staffordshire*, § 85, and

were held on the first day of each month, and banquets were spread and songs indulged in, in imitation of the heathen Germans. Ancient Pagan festivals were also held three times in each year,[1] at which periods the courts, under the direction originally of the priesthood, opened for the transaction of legal business. These *fêtes* were entirely religious in their character, and on such occasions solemn sacrifices assisted in the pomp of sacerdotal celebration. Besides the courts convened thus periodically, and which each freeman was obliged to attend,[2] fairs and markets were held, as an additional commemoration of Northern worship.[3]

After the politic substitution of our Saviour, Virgin Mary, and the saints for heathen deities, an effort was successfully made to bring these festivals on days sacred to Christianity, and in consequence the ecclesiastical authorities ordained that the solemnization of such festal days should continue under a new restriction, and that the health of Christ and the Virgin should be toasted, as a thanksgiving for peace and plenty. Christmas, All Saints, and Saint John's days, were designated for this purpose.

To the present time, among Freemasons, the custom survives of especial solemnities on Saint John's day. By an ancient fundamental law of Norse fraternities, the smallest number contemplated in the organization of a guild, qualified to celebrate any festal day, was three[4]— an obsolete

Schauberg, *Symbolik der Freimaurerei*, Bd. I., p. 88. A statute of St. Olave's Guild enacted: Quicunque potum suum effundit latius quam pede velare poterit VI. Den. persolvit. Barthol., *De Caus. Contempt*, p. 133.

[1] Grimm, *D. R. A.*, p. 822.

[2] Maurer, *Geschichte der Markenverfassung*, p. 338.

[3] Wilda, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

[4] Mann und Frau eins veranstalten und wenigstens von drei Personen sollte es zusammen gehalten werden. Wilda, *Das Gilden Wesen des Mittelalters*, p. 14.

Mas. Why do three make a lodge, brother?

Ans. Because there were three Grand Masters.

Krause, *Die Drei ältesten Kunsturkunden*, Bd. I., Abt. 1, p. 196.

landmark with modern Freemasonry to designate the number necessary to form a lodge. How closely the administration of justice among the people of the North was related to these guild festivals, appears from the alteration made by King Olaf affecting the courts, which hitherto had been convened in the open air of rural districts. He ordained in future that popular festal assemblages should be convened in guild-houses in the towns, and as the time for holding courts was identical with that of religious festivals, justice should thenceforth be administered within enclosed halls.[1]

Ancient Anglo-Saxon guilds contemplated local self-help prior to the invention of poor laws, and were maintained in old times as beneficial societies.[2] As a system of extensive and practical assistance to members, they are of a higher antiquity than the kings of England. Mention is made of them in the oldest records containing relics of English law.

The legislation of Kings Alfred and Ina, of Athelstane and Henry I., are merely a reproduction of older laws on the subject of guilds.[3] As early as the years 688 and 725, by the decrees of King Ina, a thief having been slain by guildic brethren, they were liable to a prescribed penalty. Similar to the principles involved in administration of Norse justice, every person was understood by the law to belong to a guild in the time of Alfred the Great, and the amercements to which these bodies were subjected for the murder of a guildic member are defined with precision. The famous *Judicia Civitatis Londoniae*, of Athelstane's time, A. D. 924–940, contains, among other regulations, certain ordinances for the maintenance of social duties in these unions, or guildships, as they are called. Anglo-

[1] Wilda, *op. cit.*, p. 16. Charlemagne also enacted that the courts should be held under canopy. Grimm, *Deutsche Rechts Alterthümer*, p. 806; Baluz., *Capitular. Reg. Franc.*, Tome I., p. 472.

[2] Lucy Toulman Smith, *Introd. English Guilds*, p. xiv. [3] *Ibid.*, p. xv.

Saxon guilds appear to have contemplated like purposes, for which, as above stated, the clerical fraternities of the Scandinavians were organized — to sing psalms and offer up prayers for the souls of the dead.[1] There is also extant a record, of the age of Ethelbert, granting land, in the year 860, to an association of young men — Chnighten gild. It has been conjectured that protective guilds were transplanted from England to the North in Canute's reign,[2] and that the most ancient knowledge of such institutions is of decided English origin.[3] However, the essential elements constituting these societies were an integral portion of the Teutonic races.[4]

We have seen that all the important events of Scandinavian social life, such as marriage, death, mutual assistance in peace and war, were carefully attended to in the guildic brotherhoods, and at the festivals, which, according to Wilda,[5] were designated guilds. These confraternities constituted a radical part of the religious worship of heathenism, and were based on such customs as appertained to sacerdotal rites. They prevailed in the kingdom of England not only during the unsettled period of Anglo-Saxon rule, but for ages subsequent to the Norman conquest. By law they were distinguished as *Bandships*, and were under the patronage of illustrious men. The members wore public badges, and were obligated to support each other in all external quarrels and against every species of outrage.

In the reign of Richard II., a statute was solemnly

[1] Smith, *English Guilds, Introd.*, by L. T. S., pp. xvi., xvii.

[2] Wilda, *Das Gilden Wesen des Mittelalters*, p. 69.

[3] Brentano, *History of the Origin and Development of Guilds*, p. lvii.

[4] Although the English records are more perfect in historical proofs touching this subject, a careful examination of the old Teutonic laws leads to the conclusion that this institution was of indigenous growth, and not transplanted, as alleged above, in Canute's time. Vide Unger, *Die Altdeutsche Gerichtsverfassung*, §§ 6 and 7.

[5] *Op. cit.*, c. 1.

enacted placing these societies under better regulations. A formal bond, preserved by Hicks, in his *Dissertatio Epistolaris*,[1] shows clearly the prevailing sentiment of Anglo-Saxon times touching these reciprocal relations of assistance, both aggressive and defensive. The original design of many guilds was unquestionably largely modified from unadulterated purposes of religious worship into the less commendable and undisguised object of social and convivial associations.

In unnumbered cases they were perpetuated for no other support than the maintenance of excessive hilarity and intemperance; but the returns made under oath by the vast number of guilds, in answer to a statute of Richard II., in the year 1389,[2] demand the just award that the spirit and polity of their internal government at that remote period were designed to subserve the most humane instincts of humanity.

Strenuous efforts were made by the ecclesiastics of Charlemagne to withdraw abruptly the minds of wavering Saxon converts from the indulgences and excitations of their guilds,[3] which vitalized the decaying rites and ceremonies celebrated in honor of Pagan deities. In the abjuration formulas decreed in the year 743, by the council of Lepintae,[4] the following questions were to be appropriately enforced:

Q. Forsachistu diabolae?

A. Ec forsacho diabolae.

Q. End allum diabol gelde? (gild).

A. End ec forsacho allum diabol gelde.

[1] P. 21. Vide Mallet, *Northern Antiquities*, p. 197, note (*).

[2] Vide *Preface* to Smith's *English Guilds*, p. 123.

[3] Wilda, *Das Gilden Wesen des Mittelalters*, p. 21.

[4] This council which was convened in the reign of Childeric III., king of the Franks, directed the preparation of several important decrees and formularies for confession of faith and renunciation of Paganistic customs, so rigidly adhered to by the new converts. See Baluz., *Capitular Reg. Franc.*, Tome I., pp. 149, 150, *et seq.*

Q. End allum diaboles wercum?

A. End ec forsacho allum diaboles wercum eud wordum, thunaer (Thor) ende woden (Odin) ende Saxnote (Frey) ende allem dem unholdum the hira genotas sind.[1]

At the same time a schedule of Paganistic observances, still practised in the recently converted empire of Germany, was drawn up, and adequate punishment was to be inflicted upon all who persisted in recognizing heathen deities.[2]

The citation given at length is of especial weight and importance for the subject under dissertation. It attests, with unequivocal certainty and directness, that in the eighth century there still existed guilds whose expressed object was the celebration of the mystical, and perhaps repulsive, rites[3] of Thor, Odin, and Frey, and that as the guilds and their ceremonies were left untouched by the ecclesiastical authorities, the ancient symbolic ritualism adapted to the worship of these three principal divinities of Asgard was preserved in a fragmentary and altered form by succeeding Teutonic sodalities, and among them the mediæval guild of Masons. The assembling of a necessary number to constitute one of these ancient fraternities was oftentimes informal, and without preparatory arrangement. The idea of a sworn and secret organiza-

[1] *Q.* Dost thou renounce the devil?

A. I renounce the devil.

Q. And guilds of the devil?

A. And I renounce all guilds of the devil.

Q. And all the works of the devil?

A. And I renounce all the devil's works and words, of Thor and Odin and Saxnote (Frey), and all those who are their associates.

See Roskoff, *Geschichte des Teufels*, Bd. I., p. 292. Substantially a like article of abjuration is used by all evangelical denominations of the present day.

[2] The forbidden heathen practices may be seen in the *Indiculus Superstitio. et Paganiar.* Baluz., *Capitular. Reg. Franc.*, Tome I., p. 150, etc.

[3] Secret societies existed in France at a later period for the performance of obscene rites. Payne Knight, *Worship of Priapus*, p. 182.

tion of later epochs existed then only in a limited degree,[1] but the banquets, which formed so prominent a part of these associations, existed under the Christian regime as an integral element of civil society. Guilds of the Middle Ages were certainly developed from the conventions of an earlier date, and since, in the one instance, women were admitted to make up the sacred number essential to a perfect organization, so in the later history of these unions wives and sisters became members.[2]

At what epoch the sentiment of a more thorough fraternal sentiment began to be introduced into these brotherhoods, is confessedly uncertain; it is, however, in harmony with the usual development of ecclesiastical policy in this connection to assume that this modification naturally followed the reorganization of old social life on a Christian basis.[3] The clergy, as previously mentioned, seized with much eagerness the opportunity afforded by the guilds to weld the people and themselves into a closer unity. In these unions, the fraternal spirit was the predominant one.

The first durable basis of mediæval and modern associations was evidently prepared and carefully developed into the solid growth of subsequent times within cloistered walls, and finally transmitted to the outside world, refined by the hallowed contact of Christianity. In the year 838, the monks of two Gallic monasteries, St. Remigus and St. Dionysius, in the twenty-fifth year of the reign of Lewis the Pious, framed a guild, whose object was charity combined with religious usages. At the conclusion of the document, which sets forth with sufficient accuracy the design of

[1] The Anglo-Saxons certainly pledged each other a mutual support by oath. Kemble, *Saxons in England*, Vol. II., p. 310.

[2] Wilda, *Das Gilden Wesen des Mittelalters*, p. 29. A casual examination of the collected returns in Smith's *English Guilds* will develop the oft-repeated mention of feminine guildic members.

[3] Wilda, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

such fraternization, the names of several bishops, abbots, and many monks appear as solemnly united brethren. It was usual, during the Middle Ages, for strangers or profane, emperors and kings in person, to be associated with such fraternities.[1]

Oftentimes individuals, an entire guildic brotherhood, and lay corporations affiliated with cloisters or other ecclesiastical orders. This was done in order that the associate members might enjoy the conventual good works, and also to have masses celebrated for the repose of souls after death.[2] Such privilege was frequently purchased with enormous sums of money. Another example recorded of an ancient fraternity of the time of William I., attests the close compact existing between seven English abbeys. The parties to the agreement profess true faith and allegiance to the king and his queen, Matilda, and, in order to define with precision, they assert their object to be the advancement of mutual, temporal, and spiritual welfare. Secular guilds quickly imitated the example of charity and fraternal spirit exhibited by their conventual associates; they also incorporated in their unions an element of brotherly affection, harmony, and reciprocal assistance. Thus, for instance, the statute of Saint John's guild, composed mainly of goldsmiths,[3] began with the following quotation: "The prophet David, in the Psalms, says, 'How good and pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity.'" This Scriptural quotation, in use many centuries ago among a guild of gold-workers, has continued to be an integral part of Masonic ritualism.

Under the pressure of Christianizing fervor, the commingling of religious thought with ancient Germanic social life evolved these closely-organized bodies of the

[1] Ungewitter, *Geschichte des Handels u. der Industrie*, p. 234; Machiavelli, *Istorie Fiorientine*, Tomo I., pp. 402–3.

[2] Wilda, *op. cit.*, pp. 30–1.

[3] Wilda, *Das Gilden Wesen des Mittelalters*, p. 32.

Middle Ages.[1] The earliest and most practicable form assumed by the mediæval corporations, was based upon a plan of mutual benefit, or the aid which each member was obligated to render his brother member in emergent circumstances. All initiates into these leagues partook of equal friendships and enmities.[2] On this scheme of mutual assistance, guilds were created, and, in a modernized form, were the prototypes of a well-defined element in the old Norse constitution.[3]

The groundwork of the original fraternities was certainly the benefit each member derived from the organizations, but the infusion of Christian tenets into them largely developed humanitarian ideas. Although united in many instances to advance the spiritual welfare under monastic discipline, after the lapse of time these associations freely cultivated temporal prosperity.[4] To what extent ecclesiastical influence reached in moulding these associations into harmony with the faith that had supplanted heathenism, may be seen in the prefatory dedications to mediæval written records, which, similar to the initial clause of St. Olav's guild, begin with the words, In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, Amen.[5] In almost all Masonic manuscripts thus far brought to light, this Latin invocation invariably occurs.[6] The introductory sentences of the guild just mentioned recount, with particular emphasis, that the convivium or sodality is not instituted for a drinking bout, but with the more laudable purpose of social benevolence.

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[1] Brentano, *History of the Origin and Development of Guilds*, p. lxxii.

[2] Brentano, *op. cit.* [3] Mallet, *Northern Antiquities*, p. 197.

[4] Necessitated at times, no doubt, by the uncertainties of civil government. See Heinecci, *Antiquitates Germanicae*, Tome II., cap. vi., p. 372.

[5] Wilda, *Das Gilden Wesen des Mittelalters*, p. 33.

[6] With rare exceptions, all the older guildic returns made to the British Parliament in the fourteenth century begin in the above formal way. Consult Smith, *English Guilds*, and Hughan, *Old Masonic Charges*.

It is impossible to deny that mediæval guilds, and among these the body of Freemasons, were not under the direct patronage of the church, and also controlled, more or less, arbitrarily by the clergy. Priestcraft and sacerdotal influence may be found in every guildic document which has escaped interpolation and the zeal of enthusiastic theorists. Until, in its ceaseless changes, the human soul had boldly dared to eschew shocking dogmas, each association of tradesmen, merchants, or artisans maintained a salaried priest,[1] who sometimes accompanied the corporate brethren in distant lands.[2] By the decree of King Olaf, the celebration and festivities of these bodies were transferred from the rural provinces to larger towns of the realm, and Henry, prince of the eastern march of Germany, at an earlier period, ordered the same change from country to the cities. In the city of Strassburg, the freemen were able to trace a formal union as far back as the ninth century,[3] as an organization to protect their existing freedom from episcopal encroachments.

These sodalities, therefore, during the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries, had assumed a well-settled relation to the municipal polity of various European governments. According to the conjecture of Brentano,[4] their civil constitutions were not only completed, but so widespread had the guilds extended among the Anglo-Saxons, that the ordinances of these corporations were sanctioned and imitated in legislation.

In England and on the Continent, the guilds enjoyed such favor that non-members were obligated to conform to established customs, and communal constitutions were

[1] Designated as chaplains. Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 29, 139.

[2] By an ordinance of the twelfth century, professedly drawn up from one more ancient, a priest travelled from the North German provinces, with a mercantile guild, to Novgorod, twice each year. Behrmann, *De Skra van Nougarden*, p. 92, Art. 8.

[3] Wilda, *op. cit.*, p. 205.

[4] *History of the Develop. of Guilds*, lxxvi.

developed from them. Associations thus early were formed for mutual protection in case of robbery, conflagrations, or shipwreck, and brethren united for such purpose contributed annual dues at a certain period, usually on a saint's day, when general consultations were held and gorgeous celebration of divine services, joyous festivities, and a grand feast prepared for the members. In order to unite the associates more firmly among themselves, who, it seems, sought to be relieved of reciprocal duties incident to the union, the usage was carefully maintained of administering to each one an oath. Conjuratio,[1] appears to have been the usual appellation for a guild so organized.

Whenever the initiate was sworn, in order to give additional solemnity to the obligation, the patron saint under whose protection the fraternity existed was also invoked. A like custom has come down to modern Freemasons, who dedicate their sacred vows to the Saints John.

In a capitulary of Charlemagne, promulgated in the year 789, it was forbidden members of secret societies to indulge in the vice of inebriety, and those conjurations in which oaths were exacted, under the invocation of Saint Stephen or others, were specifically interdicted.[2] The juxtaposition of ebrietas and conjuratio in the original decree, attests that the habits of intemperance charged to their ancestors were followed with filial zeal by their

[1] Juratorum conventus; jurati enim et conjurati, diciunter civis unius oppidi. Du Cange, *Gloss. Med. et Infi. Latinat. v. Conjuratus.* Sometimes called sworn brotherhoods, and expressly declared to be composed of clergy and laymen. Fratres conjurati; qui conjurati sodales diciuntur. Fratreia, sunt quidem tam clerici quam laïci, hujusmodi societatem ineuntes, ut de caetero in quibuslibet causisvel negotiis mutum sibi praestant auxilium. Du Cange, *op. cit.*, voce, *Fratreia.*

[2] Omnino prohibendum est omnibus ebrietatis malum. Et istas conjurationes quas faciunt per sanctum Stephanum aut per nos, aut per filios nostras, prohibemus. Baluz., *Capitular. Reg. Francor.*, Tome I., p. 244. Vide Du Cange, *op. cit.*, voce *Conjuratio;* also, Wilda, *Das Gilden Wesen im Mittelalter*, p. 37.

descendants. Towards the close of the eighth century, oath-bound societies had become so numerous and extended in the German empire, that a series of imperial edicts was enacted by Charlemagne and his successors to extirpate or reduce them within less objectionable limitations. Particular penalties were adjudged against those who persisted in membership with sworn corporations — such penalties, for instance, as nose-slitting, and banishment. No unions were to be tolerated except those for a strictly beneficial object, and assistance in casualties by fire, loss of property on land or by water, and under no circumstances should the beneficiaries be bound by oaths.[1]

Under Louis le Debonnaire, guilds were even instituted among the serfs of Flanders, Menpiscus, and other maritime towns, which the nobility were ordered to disband under penalty of punishment themselves.[2] If it be conceded that the Consilium Namnetense was held as early as the year 658 or 660, and not in the year 800, it is manifest that regularly organized sodalities were existing in the Frankish kingdom for two centuries preceding the Emperor Charlemagne, because this council endeavored to confine within more narrow limits these associations which were thus denominated: "collectae vel confratratriae quos consortia vocant."[3] This restraining ecclesiastical statute was decreed in order to check the gluttony which prevailed at these fraternal banquets, and also to modify Paganistic customs transmitted to them by their predecessors, the heathen guilds.[4]

[1] Published under the title: *Ut sacramentum pro gildonia non fiat.* Baluzius, *Capitular. Reg. Francor.*, Tome I., p. 198.

[2] Brentano, *Hist. of the Origin and Develop. of Guilds*, p. lxxvi., and Wilda, *Gilden Wesen*, p. 39.

[3] Wilda, *op. cit.*

[4] "The forbiddance of guilds in the Frankish empire could also be justified from religious motives, in consequence of the gluttony and *Pagan customs always associated with them.*" Brentano, *op. cit.*, lxxix.

Charlemagne was necessitated to issue severe edicts throughout the various provinces of his vast empire, in order to change the excessive Pagan tendencies of newly converted nations, and to mould them into such uniformity as harmonized with the policy of the Romish church and his own plans. In the year 773 the Longobardic dominion in Italy was terminated by the victorious armies of the Carlovingian king. To this victory the Pontiff of Rome mainly contributed by ecclesiastical influence over many districts through which the emperor passed with his troops.[1]

In conjunction with the pontifical authorities, Charlemagne digested and published a code of laws for the conquered Longobards. This body of imperial and ecclesiastical legislation was issued six years after the events narrated, viz., in the year 779. Among these laws the following prohibition appears : De sacramentis pro gildonia invicem conjurantibus, ut nemo facere praesumat. Alio verò modo de eorum eleemosynis, aut de incendio, aut de naufragis quamvis convenientiam faciant, nemo in hoc jurare praesumat.[2] From this it is certain that guilds for mutual assistance and protection had long existed among the Longobards, and were in all respects similar to those which the civil and ecclesiastical powers were endeavoring to modify into such form as would render them more controllable. The preceding quotation clearly attests that the vanquished Lombards had perpetuated in the conquered Italian provinces, and under a new social system, the elements of Paganism which belonged to the old Germanic constitution, and also that these guilds, closely united by oaths, had for their object mutual aid arising from misfortune, poverty, and indigence, by pious (eleemosynis) contributions, to the relief of which

[1] Wirth, *Geschichte der Deutschen*, Bd. I., p. 485.

[2] Baluzius, *Capitular. Regum Francorum*, p. 198; also, Wilda, *Das Gilden Wesen im Mittelalter*, p. 40.

guildic members had bound themselves by solemn vows.[1] The direct object of the capitulary cited, was the evident essential alteration within these associations of such Pagan rites as were still celebrated in honor of the divinities of Asgard, and the eradication from these fraternities of those allusions which involved a corporate recognition of Odin, Thor, and Frey.[2]

This legislation appears to have succeeded so far as to induce the clergy of that distant epoch to obtain control of the element composing these societies, and affiliating the laity with them, who became proportionate contributors for offerings, and assisted at the masses rehearsed for the souls of deceased brethren. Lay members were admitted to share in the monthly and annual festivals of the guilds. This extension of the original purpose of these fraternities arose from the numerous filiations by the people of secular society into clerical brotherhoods.[3] Although subsequent religious principles of guilds indicate sacerdotal influence in their creation or perpetuation, the final development of the sodalities during the tenth and twelfth centuries was so far completed that the control of them passed from the church.[4] Hence the struggle which arose between these bodies and the civil and ecclesiastical authorities for supremacy, in order to repress them within their original proportions. But the spirit had gone forth and could no longer be restrained. A supineness readily granted while the conditions of earlier society remained unaltered, could not be expected when the

[1] Vide Wilda, *op. cit.*

[2] The *Indiculus Superstit. et Paganiar.*, decreed in the year 741, furnishes the list of forbidden usages.

[3] Wilda, *Das Gilden Wesen im Mittelalter*, p. 37.

[4] Wilda, *op. cit.*, p. 42. Artificers of different kinds are frequently mentioned by the oldest Teutonic laws, which appear to have made certain exemptions in their behalf. Heinecci, *Antiquitates Germanicae*, Tome II., Para. 1, p. 372. *Carpentarii*, in the Salic law. *Lex. Salica.*, Tit. XI., § v.

phases of civil life had changed to such extent as required a persistent and earnest effort to resist the encroachments of the feudal system, and the unifying tendencies of the Romish church. At this epoch protective guilds developed with marvellous rapidity. In England the conjuratio, the most important form of association, can be traced to a period anterior to the invasion, in the ninth and tenth centuries.[1] The statute of such a guild at Cambridge throws much light upon the internal construction of these sodalities.[2] It is called thegna-gilde or granta-bryga. The chief elements of this oath-bound society are as follows: Members shall swear on the reliques (holy-dome of the mediæval Masons) that they will help, aid, and assist each other, both in spiritual and in secular matters, and that the corporation itself shall sustain the personal difficulties of brethren who have justice with them.

Tradespeople, or craftsmen, were associated together for the purpose of protecting their labor, at a very early age. In the fifth century the history of St. Ampelius, according to Lacroix,[3] mentions master locksmiths. The corporation of goldsmiths ascends to the first race of Frankish kings.[4] Guilds of bakers are named in the ordinances of Dagobert, which indicates a regular organization in the year 630.[5] In Lombardy, on the 22d of November, in the year 643,[6] an edict of King Rotharis was promulgated, which expressly mentions the colleges of builders and their masters as magistri comacini.[7] Luitprand, the Longobardic ruler, in the year 729,[8] by his rescripts, recognized this corpora-

[1] Wilda, *ut supra*, p. 43. [2] Hickesii, *Thesaurus*, Tome III., p. 21.

[3] *Les Moeurs et Usages au Moyen Age*, p. 296.

[4] Lacroix, *Les Arts au Moyen Age*, p. 161.

[5] Les boulangers sont nommés collectivement en 630 dans les ordonnances de Dagobert. Lacroix, *Les Moeurs et Usages*, p. 296.

[6] Merkel, *Die Geschichte des Longobardenrecht*, p. 17.

[7] Si magister comacinus cum collegantes suos cujuscumque domum restaurandam vel fabrigandam super se, etc. *Leg. Rotharis.*, cap. cxliii.

[8] Merkel, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

tion of artificers, and regulated their wages of corn and wine, etc.[1]

Ravenna, in the year 943, presents historical evidence of the existence of an association of fishermen, and ten years afterwards the annals of that city show a regularly organized guild of merchants.[2] Oath-bound societies had never disappeared from the Teutonic governments, but preserved an unbroken integrity through the Middle Ages. The orders of chivalry, with which the Romish hierarchy endeavored unsuccessfully to propagate the doctrines of Christ, were based upon ancient heathen guilds.[3] So largely was this feature of the old Germanic constitution involved in moulding the body politic of those remote times, that hunters formed confraternities dedicated to Saint Hubert.

These associations had an accurately-defined rank in public processions, initiated members into the mysteries of a secret ritualism, and taught them the signification of a mystic language. They also had lucky and unlucky members, symbolic colors, etc., while the initiates used particular signs of recognition.[4]

The existence of guildic fraternities among Teutonic victors of Northern Italy, and especially the Longobardi, is sufficiently attested by the several capitularies of Charlemagne, issued, evidently, to restrict their too universal development with the conquered nations. From the edicts of Rotharis, already quoted, it is manifest that colleges of constructors were regularly organized nearly a century and a half prior to the termination of the Lombardic rule by the Carlovingian king, and that these artificers, as pre-

[1] *Edictum Luitpr. Reg.*, cap. clvii., *De Mercedes Comacinorum. Segale, vina, lardo*— corn, wine, and lard (oil ?).

[2] Lacroix, *Les Moeurs et Usages*, p. 296.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 52.

[4] Les initiés usaient entre eux des signes particuliers de reconnaissance. Ils avaient aussi des nombres heureux et malheureux, des couleurs symboliques, etc. Lacroix, *Les Moeurs et Usages au Moyen Age*, p. 201.

viously stated, were introduced from Byzantium by Theoderich the Goth. Succeeding rulers preserved the corporate privileges to which they were entitled under the Roman law, and when the Grecian architects arrived from Constantinople they found these sodalities, particularly under the Longobardi, possessed of a formal constitution involving reciprocal oaths of secrecy and assistance, existing by a general ecclesiastical and municipal sanction, with certain usages and customs descended from heathen temple worship. Exercising the power of adjusting difficulties which arose between the members, and endowed with judicial authority, these guilds naturally imitated the constituent elements of which Gothic courts were composed. Perhaps to this cause may be attributed the striking identity between the appointments of a Masonic lodge and the symbolic appliances of ancient court procedure. These legal bodies preserved the formularies used by the Pagan Northmen in the administration of justice.

Old Teutonic courts were a counterpart of such heathen symbols and ceremonies as the priesthood manipulated in the celebration of religious services. When, therefore, the junction occurred which united the Gothic and Jewish elements of Freemasonry, by the merging of the Byzantine art corporations into the Germanic guilds in Italy, the Norsemen contributed the name and orientation, oaths, dedication of the lodge, opening and closing colloquies, Master's mallet and columns, and the lights and installation ceremonies. On the other hand, Judaistic admixture is equally well defined. From this source Masonry received the omnific word, or the faculty of Abrac and ritualism, including the Hiramic legend.

CHAPTER XXXV.

JEWISH TRADITIONS CONTRIBUTED TO GOTHIC SODALITIES — THE HIRAMIC LEGEND — HIS ASSASSINATION — THE MALLET — IDENTICAL WITH THE NORSE GOD BALDUR — THE LOST WORD — THE SEARCH FOR THE SLAIN — TWELVE COMPANIONS — TWELVE SCANDINAVIAN GODS — NUMBER FOR A LODGE — THE LEGENDS TYPIFY THE SUN GOD — HAMMER AS AN EMBLEM OF DEATH — CELEBRATION OF LIFE, DEATH, AND BURIAL, IN GUILDS — SYMBOLISM OF IMMORTALITY AND RESURRECTION — TEUTONIC MYSTERIES.

MANY points of identity existed between the Teutonic symbolism and Israelitish emblems, which powerfully aided to unite the two systems. The traditions of the Northern deity, Baldur, seemingly furnished the substantial foundation for the introduction of the legend of Hiram, the oldest form of which is presented in an authentic shape by Anderson,[1] and is substantially as follows:[2] At the building of King Solomon's temple Hiram was superintending architect. Three craftsmen, having determined to secure the Master's word from him at all hazards, placed themselves at the three principal entrances to the edifice, in order to waylay the illustrious builder. His fidelity caused him to be assassinated with a mallet. A search was made for

[1] *Lecture on the Third Degree.*

[2] With this tradition, as given by Anderson, the esoteric lecture on Hiram, and prepared in strict accordance with ancient landmarks by the Grand Orient of France, in 1801, agrees entirely. *Regulateur du Maçon* (3^ème Grad.), p. 18, *et seq.*

his remains by a party traversing towards each of the cardinal points, who discovered Hiram's tomb. It is then added that this artisan was brought from his grave, "as all other Masons when they receive the Master's word."

The twelve companions of Master Hiram correspond unquestionably to the twelve zodiacal signs, or the twelve months of the year. As we shall presently see, the groundwork of this tradition is a fragment of ancient natural religion, common to both Oriental and European nations, or, more properly, was derived from identical sources. The three treacherous craftsmen of Hiram the Good are the three winter months, which slew him. He is the sun, surviving during the eleven consecutive months, but subjected to the irresistible power of three ruffians, the winter months; in the twelfth and last month, that luminary, Hiram, the good, the beauteous, the bright, the sun god, is extinguished.[1]

Baldur, the second son of Odin, occupies, in the Northern mythology, a place similar to Hiram the builder in Masonic traditions. Of so fair aspect and so radiant, he is a synonym of light and beauty.[2] On his life depended the active vitality of the gods of Asgard, as upon the existence of the master architect rested the completion of Solomon's temple — a type of the universe. Baldur was also named the great and good.[3] Hiram and Baldur were equally slain by treachery and fraud. A mallet was the instrument which killed the builder; the mistletoe caused the Northern deity's death. In both catastrophes, sorrow and lamentation prevailed among their associated brethren. A search was instituted to find Baldur, the Norse god, similar to that made for the recovery of Hiram.

[1] Schauberg, *Symbolik der Freimaurerei*, Bd. I., p. 153.

[2] Thorpe, *Northern Mythology*, Vol. I., p. 22; Simrock, *Deutsche Mythologie*, p. 281.

[3] Thorpe, *op. cit.*, p. 185; Mallet, *Northern Antiq.*, p. 446; *Gylfaginning*, c. 49.

In the Northern mythology, the death of the loved deity afflicted Odin the Wise most deeply, because he saw how much the æsir or gods would lose by this misfortune.[1] Solomon the Wise also bewailed the loss of Hiram, because he knew that the vital and principal support of his typical universe had fallen by the master's assassination, and that, in consequence of this event, the true word had been lost. Baldur is, as almost all antiquaries have admitted, the warm sunshine, the brightness of light, the joy of existence. Beauty and goodness are the fundamental ideas contained in the name.[2] By his death, the light of earth is replaced by darkness. His mother, the fruitful soil, like the companions of Hiram, mourns; all beings shed tears, and nature is filled with sighs,[3] typifying the three last months of the year, or the assassins of the temple builder. Although in each instance the heroic dead was found, there existed no power sufficient to restore the defunct to life.

The lamentations of the Jewish king over the unresurrected body of his architect, the ineffectual attempts to withdraw it from a temporary resting-place, and final success by the symbolic use of Judah's lion, evinced that one thing alone was wanting to revive the illustrious Tyrian. Odin dispatched Hermod to Hela[4] in search of Baldur, and found him. The messenger besought the inexorable goddess of hell to allow the assassinated deity to return with him, and represented the grief of the gods for his loss. Hela answered that it would now appear how much the murdered hero was beloved, and promised if everything in the world, both living and dead, would bewail his loss, he should be restored to the celestial

[1] *Gylfaginning, loc. cit.*

[2] *Ibid., loc. cit.;* Thorpe, *op. cit.*, p. 185; Simrock, *ut supra*, § 34, p. 281.

[3] Thorpe, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

[4] Death or place of departed spirits; hence English word hell. The ancient curse was Far til Odhin, or Hela.

divinities. Thereupon the Odinic deities sent messengers throughout the universe to pray all things, animate and inanimate, to weep for Baldur. One alone refused.[1] Thus, as with Hiram Abif, one thing alone lacked to resurrect the Norse god.

The glittering abodes of Asgard had twelve principal deities, of whom Baldur was one[2]—Odin, or the father of all, made the thirteenth, or, perhaps, the celestial deities are the representatives of essential principles which he possessed. The numeral twelve ramified extensively through the Scandinavian mythology, and occurs so frequently in the popular traditions of the Middle Ages as to induce the belief that its mystical significance was immediately derived from ancient Teutonic religious culture. Hiram's twelve associate craftsmen correspond in numbers to the companion deities of Baldur in the bright halls of Asgard.[3] The zodiacal signs, or the monthly divisions of the year, are to be found in Scandinavian cosmogony.[4]

Germanic legends and heroic romances use this number as a norm, so well distinguished as to leave no doubt touching a mythological derivation. For instance, a Dane received as a favor from an Elf the prowess and thirst of twelve men.

In Norwegian sagas, a knight appears, whose horse, in twelve strides, passes over the sun's course. Twelve streams of cold or turbulent water flow out into the vacant universe. A like number composed an ancient court of marches;[5] twelve boys are mentioned as a significant

[1] Simrock, *Deutsche Mythologie*, § 33; *Gylfaginning*, Str. 49.

[2] Thorpe, *Northern Mythology*, p. 5; Simrock, *op. cit.*, p. 281.

[3] For legendary account of the twelve companions of Joseph of Arimathea, vide Poole, *Ecclesiastical History of Architecture*, p. 4.

[4] Aliquis intra XII. menses nullus testatus, etc. *Pactus Legis Salic.*, Tit. XLVIII., cap. 2.

[5] Grimm, *Deutsche Rechts Alterthümer*, p. 217. See, however, Maurer, *Geschichte der Markenverfassung*, § 11.

number in the Ripariorum law.[1] By the laws of Rotharis, a respite of twelve nights was accorded under certain circumstances.[2] In the Teutonic Red Rose Tales, twelve fairies are beneficent, and the thirteenth malevolent.[3] Twelve cats of uncertain age are domiciled in the Hartzberg, and in Troutberg, in the palatinate, Charlemagne sits surrounded with his twelve famous paladins. Wine cellars, in a dilapidated edifice at Reichau, and at Trigtis in Saxony, according to popular tradition, contain twelve casks.[4] In the German Hero Book[5] of Rosen-Garden, King Gibich placed his daughter Chrimhild at Worms, under the surveillance of twelve knights, among whom Siegfried was preëminent. Twelve Nuremberg masters sing in rivalry within the radiant rose garden.

According to a Bavarian legend, twelve men sit around a golden bowl in the castle of Hochberg. In the Windeck fortress, a huntsman was obliged to play the music for a company of twelve knights and their ladies to dance by. A Hessian tale relates that a lad, with twelve virgins, sailed at night to enchanted realms, where the maidens merrily danced with an equal number of princes until their shoes were worn through.[6] This legend is interpreted by Menzel[7] to signify the twelve months of the expiring year. Illustrious Swabian families deduce their origin from twelve deities. The Frisians in Zealand have twelve judges, who administer justice in their courts.

[1] Cum duodecim ad locum traditionis pueris. *Lex Ripariorum*, LX., cap. 1. This evidently refers to the old custom of striking boys in the mouth or on the ears, to impress their minds with certain legal formalities.

[2] *Edictum Rothar. Regis.*, cap. ccclxi.

[3] Full information touching mystical use of numeral twelve in Simrock, *op. cit.*, pp. 150–4, 191, 364, 485.

[4] Schauberg, *Symbolik der Freimaurerei*, Bd. I., p. 131.

[5] *Das Kleine Heldenbuch*, 6 *Abent.*, and Ludlow, *Popular Epics of the Middle Ages*, Vol. I., p. 282.

[6] Schauberg, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

[7] *Odin*, p. 204.

British legends assign twelve invincible paladins to King Arthur.[1]

From the answer returned by an initiate craftsman to the Master's question, propounded in the early part of the last century, it is evident that monthly divisions of the year suggested the response, which was as follows:

"*Mas.* Why should eleven make a lodge, Brother?

"*Ans.* There were eleven patriarchs when Joseph was sold into Egypt and supposed to be lost.

"*Mas.* The second reason, Brother?

"*Ans.* There were but eleven apostles when Judas had betrayed Christ."[2]

The eleven brethren who had sold Joseph, the twelfth, into Egyptian bondage; Judas, the twelfth apostle, who treacherously delivered his Master, leaving eleven sorrowing comrades behind him; Baldur, the twelfth god of Asgard, slain by treachery and fraud, lamented by his eleven associate deities as an irreparable loss, and Hiram the builder, assassinated by cowardly craftsmen, are grounded upon one and the same mythological notion. They are merely typical expressions of death, symbolized in the Teutonic and Oriental cosmogony of very early ages by the sun or light god. Also, the lost word and its recovery; the resurrected Hiram, as emblematized in the acacia; Joseph the unknown, when recognized by his brothers as richly endowed; Baldur the good, lost to the Odinic deities, of whose tragical death the mistletoe was a symbol, are substantially the ever-recurring prototypes of the changing powers of the day luminary, and the resistless rejuvenation of nature; the immortality of divinity and of man; the

[1] Turner, *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, Bk. II., *Appendix;* Schauberg, *Symbolik der Freimaurerei*, Bd. I., p. 132. Vide Grimm, *Deutsche Rechts Alterthümer*, p. 217, for the legal significance of the number 12. In the Eddaic songs, this numeral is often used in a mystical sense. *Helreidh.*, Str. 6, and *Gylfaginning*, cap. 20.

[2] Krause, *Die Drei ältesten Kunsturkunden*, Bd. I., Abt. 1, p. 209.

eternal perpetuation of divine-human spirituality and an emblem of celestial strength and power. Besides this, the signification extends further and deeper into a purely mythological origin. An attestation of this can be gleaned from the answer quoted above, which declares that eleven members may compose a lodge; these are the eleven months during which the sun flashes forth in the brilliancy of its vital forces, and at last, in the twelfth month, sinks away and is extinguished;[1] they are also the eleven brothers who first betrayed and then sold Joseph; they are the eleven disciples of Christ, or the eleven associate deities of Baldur; they are the companions of Hiram. In a word, these portray the gradual decay of life, its final extinction and essential immortality. There is another and important point of identity between the legends of Baldur and Hiram.

The instrument which slew the Tyrian artificer was a mallet or setting maul. In addition to the typical powers with which it is invested in the Master's hand, it is also, in lodge ritual, a symbol of death and associated with funereal furniture. It has become emblematic of Hiram's death. When the Scandinavian gods had borne the body of assassinated Baldur to the funeral pyre on board his ship, lying beside the sea-shore,[2] Thor arose and consecrated the burning pile with his hammer, the potent Miölner.[3] In heathen times a hammer was always used to hallow the cremation rites performed over the dead before being reduced to ashes,[4] a custom which was suffered to exist by early Christian evangelists. Frequently this emblem was buried with the body.[5] The symbols, therefore, in both the Hiramic and Baldur traditions, are of an exact significance.

[1] Schauberg, *Symbolik der Freimaurerei*, Bd. I., p. 133.

[2] This singular custom of launching the corpse upon the uncertain waters of a boundless sea is alluded to in Beowolf, *Anglo-Saxon Poems*, Str. 70, *et seq.*

[3] Simrock, *Deutsche Mythologie*, § 33; *Gylfaginning*, Str. 49.

[4] Geijer, *History of Sweden*, p. 31. Vide *supra*, c. xxvi.

[5] Geijer, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

As the weapon which ended the life of the master builder, the maul typifies death.

From the consecration by Thor of the Norse deity's pyre with his mallet, the hammer has descended through succeeding epochs as a like mournful symbol, interwoven with other customs transmitted by Teutonic mythology to mediæval guilds, and by them transferred to Freemasonry.

The worship and veneration of Baldur among the Northern nations was widespread, and in many localities equalled the reverence for other Norse divinities. Whether specific ceremonials were practised by the ancient German priesthood in commemoration of his untimely death, including a burial accompanied with lamentations and solemn rites, symbolizing his recovery and ultimate resurrection into a "world of light," and whether such solemnities, if celebrated at all, were adopted by the guilds, cannot be stated with satisfactory precision.

As each guildic fraternity was a prototype, in numerous particulars, of customs grounded on heathen temple worship, and especially since many lodge appointments are traceable to the Gothic courts, imitated after Teutonic sanctuaries, it may be correctly inferred that the circumstances of Baldur's death and funeral, together with the attempts to restore him to his previous condition, the searches instituted for his recovery, and particularly that portion of Norse mythology which portended a resurrection, were, on certain days of the year, made the subject of a detailed ritualism.

The mediæval guilds buried their deceased members, and with them a mallet was evidently inhumed. In the conventual system a coffin was always exposed to view near an open grave to typify death.[1] At all events, as the early brotherhoods were based upon the religious observances of the Germanic race, there is every reason to assume that

[1] Fosbroke, *British Monachism*, pp. 80–82.

such ceremonies, involving the representation of death and a resurrection, were practised on fitting occasions by these societies.

Among the usages still existing in Germany, there is an indisputable relict of an ancient death or burial service, combined with an emblematic exhumation. This custom, according to Schauberg,[1] is called a church consecration burial and resurrection, and is celebrated late in the fall. One of the village boys, attended by his companions, is born with mock solemnity from house to house begging contributions for their facetious rites.

Having collected sufficient for the purpose, a procession is formed, which marches, amid simulated tears and lamentations, to an unfrequented spot, where a deep opening has been hastily prepared in the earth; into this a male image, with a quantity of refuse matter, is deposited. In the vicinity of Hamburg, the mummied lad represents a person in the agony of death. At the fancied burial place, the straw with which the body is covered is fired, and the strange drama endures amidst uninterrupted sorrowing of assistants and spectators, while musicians play a funeral march. The assemblage then disperses. It is evident that this representation typifies the burial of divine life amid tears and universal sadness.

The gifts bestowed upon the mourners and those who conduct the funebrial services are imitated from the ancient heathen priests, who, under similar circumstances, received gift offerings for the dead.[2] After the lapse of a few days, the buried rubbish is exhumed. Another procession then marches to the locality, where old and young, the rich and poor, join in a joyous toast that the earth-covered material has been recovered, and that ancient joy—the lost word—Hiram and Baldur, are found again.[3]

[1] *Symbolik der Freimaurerei*, Bd. I., p. 615.

[2] Vide Simrock, *Deutsche Mythologie*, §§ 144, 145, for detailed proofs touching the continuance of heathen customs by Christianized Germany.

[3] [illegible]rg, *op. cit.*, p. 621.

The entombed body typifies, in an unequivocal manner, the indestructible and vital forces of divinity, or of the Norse god Baldur and the Tyrian Hiram, whose innate immortality shall resurrect them.

There is no doubt, moreover, that the sacred mysteries and passion plays, so frequently acted by the ecclesiastics of the Middle Ages on rude theatrical stages, are the direct and lineal descendants of ancient Teutonic or Scandinavian life, death, and burial representations of a Northern deity, evidently Baldur.

From whatever standpoint the strange rites and ceremonies above described may be regarded, there can be, it is apprehended, but one interpretation—that, as practised by the Northern priesthood or people in a guildic form in commemoration of Baldur or otherwise, they embody the essential features strongly characteristic of the Hiramic legend, viz., a symbol of life, inevitable death, and an impressive inculcation of the immortality of that divine vitality in man which survives earthly dissolution.

As hitherto urged, it was in harmony with clerical policy, for the purpose of Christianizing the Pagan Teutons, to substitute Biblical allusions and martyred saints for mythological notions and Norse deities, and endow them with all the attributes conceded to heathen gods.

It is also probable that the guilds originally introduced by the destructive Goths in Northern Italy, and perpetuated by victorious Longobardi, commemorated the assassination of Baldur with ceremonies similar to those mentioned, and, at the period of the merging of Byzantine corporations into these sodalities, still retained so much of their heathen rites as rendered the fusion of the two legends a matter of little difficulty.[1]

[1] The *Indiculus Paganiar. et Superstit.*, and abjuration formula, quoted above, sufficiently attest the vigorous existence of Pagan rites performed in guilds during the time that Eastern building associations were regularly domiciled in Northern Italy. Vide Baluzius, *Capitular Regum Francor.*, Tome I., p. 150.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

THE "FACULTY OF ABRAC" — GENUINENESS OF THE HENRY VI. MSS. — DERIVATION OF ABRAC OR ABRAXAS — ABRACADABRA: ITS MYSTICAL PROPERTIES — ABRAXAS STONES AND JEHOVAH'S NAME — TYPE OF POWER — USED AS A CHARM — UNIVERSAL BELIEF IN MAGIC DURING MIDDLE AGES — SOLOMON'S TEMPLE BUILT BY THE OMNIFIC WORD — MOSES AND THE TRUE NAME — MEDIÆVAL SUPERSTITION OF NAME POTENCY — POWERS OF THE JEHOVAH — CABALA — JAH, OR YOD, CREATES HEAVEN, ETC. — TRUE PRONUNCIATION LOST — SUBSTITUTE — ABRAC: "SACRED NAME" — TEUTONIC NOTIONS OF MAGIC — RUNES — NORSE WORD POWER — IDENTITY WITH JEWISH.

IN the year 1748, a small pamphlet is said to have been published at Frankfort, in Germany, which, it is alleged, was written by the hand of Henry VI., of England,[1] purporting to be the record of an official investigation into the principles of Freemasonry held by that monarch, or under his direction. Great diversity of opinion obtains among modern Masonic writers and authorities as to the authenticity of this document; the preponderance of authority, however, asserts its spuriousness.

A careful examination of the pamphlet, republished by Krause,[2] convinces me that it is genuine and entitled to full credence. Who the author was is uncertain, but it presents all the appearance, from the phraseology and antique orthography at least, of having been written as

[1] *Proem* to Manuscript Henry VI.

[2] *Die Dréi ælteſten Kunſturkunden*, Bd. I., Abt. 1, p. 23, *et seq.*

early as the middle of the fifteenth century. The traditions of the fraternity are also as accurately transmitted by this manuscript as by those which Masonic historians have accepted to be genuine. Among other legends which it contains, is one that Venetians brought Freemasonry from the East.[1] How closely this corresponds with the actual transmission of architectural art to the West readily appears. Whoever wrote the document in question was profoundly learned in the secrets possessed by the craft.

One of the mysteries the author asserted to be concealed by the Freemasons is the "faculty of Abrac." This, embodying a germinal truth, has been handed down through ages, and in another form is still the central point around which the organism revolves. It was, without doubt, brought into Western Europe, and transmitted, among other Oriental elements, to Germanic guilds by Grecian artificers.

Abrac or Abraxas is a word used by the Basilidian heretics to designate their supreme god. Mystical and cabalistic powers were ascribed to it. Compounded of the Greek letters, α. β. ρ. α. ξ. α. ς., it was early adopted as a charm. Abracadabra, derived from this source, was also endowed with magical potency. When written in the form of a triangle, thus:

A B R A C A D A B R A
A B R A C A D A B R
A B R A C A D A B
A B R A C A D A
A B R A C A D
A B R A C A
A B R A C
A B R A
A B R
A B
A

[1] *Q.* Who dyd brynge ytt Westlye?

A. The Venetians, whoo — comed ffyrste ffrome the Este ynn Venetia. Krause, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

and suspended about the neck with a linen thread, according to Serenus Samonicus, it had the virtues of an amulet. As such it was used by the Syrians for purposes of invocation. Upon abraxas stones this word was usually engraven, and with it the name[1] of Jehovah, Jaw or Jao (Fig. 28), appears oftentimes as early as the third century.

Fig. 28.

The characters used were almost invariably Greek, Hebrew, Coptic, or Hetrurian.[2] Magical studies were eagerly pursued by the Ephesians; to such an extent, indeed, that their incantations became proverbial, and in the second century the Basilidian abraxas were constructed from Ephesian characters, to which especial and irresistible magic was attributed.[3]

The legends found on many of these gems are of Gnostic origin,[4] and since the doctrines of this sect were mainly drawn from Egypt, particularly as applied to symbolic inscriptions, it is probable that the word *abrax*, or *abrac*, is Egyptian also.[5]

Irenaeus says[6] that the schismatics of his day invested letters, combined in certain forms, with cabalistic properties. Frequent attempts were made to distort the name

[1] King, *The Gnostics and their Remains*, p. 81.

[2] *Encyclopæd. Britannic.* v. *Abracadabra.*

[3] Townsend, *New Testament*, Vol. I., pp. 285–6.

[4] Milman, *History of Christianity*, Vol. II., pp. 116–7.

[5] Vide Ennemoser, *History of Magic*, Vol. I., p. 262. King, *op. cit.*, pp. 36, 37, whose authority is Bellermann, *Drei Programmen ueber die Abraxas-gemmen*, Berlin, 1820.

[6] *Adversus Haereses*, Lib. I., p. 93. "Aequm est autem eos lugeri qui talem Dei cultem vereq. ineffabilis potentiae magnitudinem totque ac tantas Dei administrationas per Alpha et Beta," *et seq.* *Ibid.*, p. 94.

of Jesus into such magical uses.[1] By virtue of the combinations of which favorite letters or numerals were susceptible, some claimed to have an absolute control over natural laws.[2] But of all words or formulas used by the magicians, abraxas was the most exalted essence of power, and strength and wisdom were ineradically interwoven with it.[3] Abraxas, according to the ancient numeral system, completed the number of 365, which, it was alleged, corresponded with a like number of æons or angels, each endowed with specific powerful attributes.[4]

Some of the especial virtues assigned to abrac were its irresistible charm to avert evil, cure fevers, and dispel diseases, particularly if written in shape of a triad.[5]

During the Middle Ages, after the Saracen conquest of Spain, amulet charms were much used in Europe. Magical instruction was taught in Northern schools of learning, to which the nobility sent their children.

One property ascribed to this word was the talismanic power of discovering hidden things, and of subjugating spirits to the human will.[6] Brand says[7] the word abracadabra, in form of a triangle and worn about the person, was regarded by the people of his day as an invincible protection. In former ages a duellist was compelled to swear that this charm was not in his personal possession.

The belief in the magic power of certain letters combined under an invocation, extended throughout Eastern nations immediately before and after Christianity had become the imperial religion. Although forbidden by the

[1] Irenaeus, *op. cit.*, Lib. I., p. 86.

[2] *Ibid.*, Lib. I., p. 112.

[3] Esse autem principius illorum Abraxas et propter CCCLXV. numerorum haberi in se. Irenaeus, *op. cit.*, Lib. I., p. 120. Verbum, ex illo sapientia ex ipsis Principatis et Potestatis. Ibid., *op. et loc. cit.*

[4] Mundem in honore abraxae cujus nomen hunc in se numerum compertum. Scholia in Iren., *ad Haereses*, Lib. I., p. 121. Oftentimes designated "nomen sanctum," or sacred name. Scholia in ibid., *loc. cit.*

[5] Ennemoser, *History of Magic*, Vol. I., p. 94.

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 97, 99.

[7] *Popular Antiquities*, Vol. II., p. 579.

Mosaic law, incantations were much in vogue among the Jews and proselyte Christians. It was through the agency of the omnific word that the Hebrews ascribed the success achieved by Solomon in building the temple at Jerusalem.[1] The Egyptians freely practised magic science, and professed to accomplish miracles by means of certain characters.[2] From whatever source derived, the Israelites were not behind their masters along the Nile in investing resistless potency to the name of their deity.

It was firmly believed by the Jews that peculiar arrangement of the letters composing the word was all-powerful and profound in mystical lore.[3] Moses, it was asserted, could not have performed all the miracles which astounded the wizards of Egypt without the name Schemhamphorasch, or Jehovah.[4]

Jews, in the time of Christ, boldly charged that the wonder workings of our Saviour were accomplished by means of the sacred word or name.[5]

Josephus Gecatilias, a cabalistic writer,[6] says, in exhorting his readers against an illicit use of the divine

[1] Townsend, *New Testament*, Vol. I., p. 285.

[2] Imagunculis forte et characteribus jam tunc multa tributa sunt. Bruckerius, *Instit. Historiae Philosophae*, Lib. II., cap. vii., § x.

[3] Solent iidem Kabbalistae nomina divina ad decem Sephiroth accomodari. Buddeus, *Introd. ad Hist. Philos. Ebraeor.*, p. 272. Nomen separatum dicitur, quod cum magna illud veneratione prosequnti sint Ebraei. *Ibid.*, p. 273.

[4] Moses non est usus nisi nomine isto maximo et omnia miracula sua quae fecit, fuerunt per Schemhamphorasch id est nomen expositum quod est ipsum nomen Jehovah. Caphtor, f. 56, in Buddeus, *Introd. ad Hist. Philos. Ebraer.*, p. 274.

[5] Quod per nomen hocce expositum miracula sua (Christus) ediderit. Buddeus, *op. cit.*, p. 274.

[6] Quoted by Buddeus, p. 275: "Mi fili, ausculta a voci meae et aures tuae attentae sunto ad consilium meum: si seducere te conentur peccatores ne acquiescito si dixerint tibi: veni nobiscum et trademus in manum tuam nomina divina, quibus possis uti: mi fili ne abito in viam cum ipsis, contine pedem tuum a semita ipsorum; quia illa nomina et usus illorum, nil sane nisi retia et laquei ad capiendum animas et ducendas eas in perditionem."

name: "If sinners would entice thee by saying, 'Come with us and we will deliver into thy hands the great or sacred name, with which thou canst have power over all things,' my son, go not in their way, but let thy steps be different from theirs; because those names, and the use of them, are naught but a net to trap the unwary minds and lead them to perdition." Moses Maimonides, the founder of an Israelitish school, was deeply learned in the arts of the cabala, and had acquired singular powers, according to Buddeus,[1] by the use of certain letters, characters, and mystical numbers, or by true or spurious names.

Cabalistic rites, early in the thirteenth century, were openly practised in France by the Jews.[2] Rabbinical writers assert that Solomon secured the mighty Schamir through the agency of the magic word Schemhamphorasch. The property of this creature was an irresistible power to cut the hardest stones. Since Solomon was instructed to prepare his temple without the aid of a builder's tool, he had recourse to the talismanic potency of the above word, Jehovah, to possess Schamir.[3]

Many cabalistic writers deduce the origin of their teachings from Adam himself.[4] Others trace the system back in an unbroken line to Moses.[5] It is conceded, however, that from very remote times these traditions have been a subject of superstitious reverence and zealous study.[6]

The Persian conquest, no doubt, gave a strong tendency

[1] *Introduct. ad Histor. Philosop. Ebraeorum*, p. 275.

[2] Buddeus, *op. cit.*, p. 352. In these rites, the ceremonies of initiation seem to have been divided into degrees. *Ibid.*, p. 355.

[3] Baring Gould, *Curious Myths of the Middle Ages*, p. 125.

[4] Roskoff, *Geschichte des Teufels*, Bd. I., p. 275.

[5] Moses accepit legem e monte Sinai, tradidit eam Josuae; Josua Senioribus; Seniores prophetis; et prophetae tradiderunt eam viris synagogae magnae. *Pirke Abhoth.*, cap. 1, cited by Pritius, *Introd. in Lect. Novi Testamenti*, p. 448.

[6] Pritius, *op. cit.*, p. 448.

to allegorizing mysticism among the Jews while in captivity.

In Egypt also, the land of mysteries and metaphysics, whither many Jews had emigrated, either voluntarily or by inducements, after the destruction of the first temple at Jerusalem, Judaic culture found a fruitful soil, and the lively phantasies of the Semites readily merged the conglomeration of Egyptian, Persian, and Greek elements into the sacred Scriptures. A steady and uninterrupted intercourse of the Hebrews of Egypt with those of Palestine, propagated the secret mysteries of the former among the Israelites, and ultimately gained a well-defined status in the creeds of both Egyptian and Palestine Jews.[1]

It was claimed that the cabala was able to interpret the mystic signification of the written law which God had delivered to Moses, and especially of each letter and point contained in the Divine commands communicated to Moses upon Sinai.[2] According to the cabalists, this interpretation was accomplished by means of gematria, geometry or arithmetic, which consisted in varied and formal combinations of the Hebrew alphabet, and, although the letters were totally different, produced exact numeral results.[3]

Such combinations were also supposed to possess mystical properties, and were oftentimes used as symbols.[4]

[1] In Ægypten, wohin nach der Zerstörung des ersten Tempels viele Juden wiederholt eingewandert waren, fand der jüdische Mysticismus einen gedeihlichen Boden, u. s. w. Roskoff, *op. cit.*, Bd. I., p. 247.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 248.

[3] Gematria est arithmetica explicatio vocis e numeris, quos juxta valorem literarum suarum arithmeticum, vel per aliam vocem quae in numeris totidem continent. Pfeiffer, *Critica Sacra de Sacri Codicis, etc.*, p. 209.

[4] Buddeus, *Introd. ad Hist. Philos. Ebraeor.*, p. 266. The Hebrew letter י (Yod) was used by the Jews in early ages as typical of the all-pervading essence of Deity: Dominum illum aeturnem esse Deum unicum in quator mundi partibus (cum lettera י quaternarii muneri nota sit) *i. e.*, ubique et in toto mundo praesentem. Ibid., *loc. cit.* This was apparently the idea which suggested a place for the synonym of Jehovah in Masonic lodges. The letter "G" is, without doubt, the initial "Yod," and is still visible in the east of a lodge.

Gematria was subdivided into other attributes, one of which was architectonica, in which essential words contained the mathematical mystery of constructing edifices.[1] Another system of explaining hidden Scripture secrets was designated notaricon. This was performed by extracting one word from many, by using either the initial or terminal letters of each syllable, and when thus collated, the alphabetic word became endowed with especial powers.[2]

Letters and other visible signs composing the sacred writings are avowed by cabalistic commentators to stand with celestial emanations of the Godhead, whose operations they represent in the closest relations, and by the merest expression of that visible sign in which concealed potency lies, a spiritual being is set in motion. In consequence of this connection existing between literal characters and supernatural essence, whoever would exert transcendent authority over nature and the world of spirits, must acquire this power from the cabala.[3] According to this scheme, the first manifestations of divinity are denominated Memra, the word (Logos) Chochma or wisdom, and Jah as strength.

The cabalists assert that by the word Jah, God created the universe,[4] and during the Middle Ages the deity was frequently represented by these letters, suspended or hewn in the interior walls of churches.[5] Uninterrupted inter-

[1] Buddeus, *op. cit.*, p. 266. Architectonica, quae e dimensione mathematica aedificiorum et structurarum mysteria captat. Pfeiffer, *Critica Sacra, etc.*, p. 210. The Yod, or י, was expressly declared to be of such magical potency. *Ibid.* King Solomon, possessed of the secrets of this potential word, was consequently enabled to construct his temple.

[2] Buddeus, *op. cit.*, p. 267; Pfeiffer, *op. cit.*, pp. 213, 214.

[3] Roskoff, *Geschichte des Teufels*, Bd. I., p. 248.

[4] Durch Jah ist Gott Schöpfer der Welten. Roskoff, *op. cit.*, p. 249. In the frontispiece to *The History of the Holy Bible*, London, MDLII., the deity is represented in the act of creating the universe, by the name of Jehovah inscribed within a radiating triangle.

[5] Poole, *Ecclesiastical History of Architecture*, p. 398; Didron, *Christian Iconography*, p. 232.

course with the Egyptians furnished the Palestine Jews opportunities for obtaining a profound insight into the mystical lore of the priesthood and their sacred rites.

After the correct pronunciation of the word, Jehovah, had become lost, substitutes seem to have been employed for purposes of magic and amulets.[1] As previously stated, Schemhamphorasch was endowed with talismanic power, and was used by Solomon.

Abrak, or abraksax, signifies also, according to Bellermann,[2] "the adorable, blessed name,"[3] and designated the Basilidian essence — the nameless and unutterable word. And in this it corresponds exactly with the Schemhamphorasch, the divine word, the blessed and eternal name, or with the Haschschem Zithbareck, and the unspeakable, omnific, and ineffable Tetragrammaton, the Jehovah of the Jews,[4] both of which are engraven on abraxas stones (Figs. 29, 30). The word abrak, abrach, or abrech, is also to be found in the Bible as a salutation to Joseph by the Egyptians upon his accession to royal power.[5] It will be seen, therefore, that this word, through the intervening changes of time, has descended as an elemental portion of

[1] Zebaoth was oftentimes substituted, but Adonai was the most usual. Grotius, *Annotation. in Libr. Evangel.*, Tome II., p. 129. Adonai means lord or master. Hiram Abif, in old Masonic catechisms, is called Adoniram, or Master Hiram. Therefore, Mah! *Adonai!* What! our Master! would be a more fitting and significant exclamation than Mah! *Aboni!* What! the Builder!

[2] *Die Drei Programmen ueber die Abraxas-Gemmen*, 1^ms Stück, pp. 48–53; also King, *The Gnostics and their Remains*, pp. 367.

[3] Milman, *Latin Christianity*, Vol. II., p. 116, note (‡). *Vide* Matter, *Histoire du Gnosticisme*, Tom. II., pp. 47–50, who designates it "parole sacrée."

[4] Selden, *De Synedr. Veter. Ebraeor.*, p. 828, says the most solemn obligations were made under the invocation of the Tetragrammaton.

[5] 1 Moses, 41, 43. The Egyptian hierarchy evidently shared, with other Eastern priesthood, accurate notions of one supreme God. This is attested by the use of the word abrac, and also by the hieroglyph Ānuk — pu — Ānuk — the "I am that I am," given in Eber, *Ægypten und die Buecher Moses*. For this reference and authority, I am indebted to the kind courtesy of Mr. Bayard Taylor.

Freemasonry to the fifteenth century, and as representative of a lost name.

The "way of winning the faculty of abrac," thus understood, signifies the means by which the lost word may be recovered, or, at least, substituted. Abrac was, perhaps, used, in harmony with the times, as a charm to which, when the faculty of acquiring the same had been gained by an investiture with craft secrets, a specific magical power was attributed. With such talismanic meaning, this word evidently found ready admission among Teutonic guild members, together with other Oriental traditions contributed by Byzantine corporations.

Fig. 29.

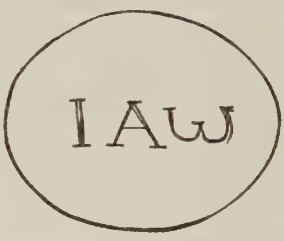

Fig. 30.

Although the ancient Germans appear to have been ignorant of the secrets of letters[1] for practical purposes, they were thoroughly conversant with them for magical uses. In this respect, the same virtues were accredited by the Norsemen to runes as were ascribed by Eastern people to their combinations of letters.

The Grimms,[2] with wonderful accuracy and with conclusive arguments, have traced the original Runic characters to a remote Asiatic source.[3] The name itself involved the notion of mysticism, and the famous mandragora, or

[1] Literarum secreta viri pariter ac feminae ignorant. Tacit., *Germania*, cap. 19.

[2] Wilhelm Grimm, *Ueber Deutsche Runen*, p. 67; Jacob Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, p. 376.

[3] Max Mueller, *Survey of Languages*, p. xvii.

rather the demon conjured out of it, is accurately expressed in old German by alraun.[1] It is possible that this word is the root of the runes. Talismanic potency is inherent in alraun, which is applied in the sense of a good or evil substance.[2] For instance:

> "Alraun, ich rufe dich an,
> Das du meinen harten Man
> Dringest darzu,
> Das er mir kein leid nich thu."[3]

Friday is also mentioned as a day when the Alraunen will be domiciled upon Hörselberg.[4]

Werder has translated one of the stanzas of Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*, with the word in the signification of an all-powerful spell:

> "Dagegen auch kein sanft und labsal wird gefunden,
> Es ist kein alraun wort und murmeln dafür gut."

An essential thought in this derivative word is one of supernal power, and that meaning was transferred to the runes, which were endowed with cabalistic qualities.

In the Scandinavian mythology, Odin, the supreme Norse divinity, is represented as the inventor of the Runic alphabet,[5] and so far corresponds in tradition with Mercury, to whom the invention of letters and dice was assigned.

Runic characters, like the Roman dice, were used for the purpose of invoking the fates by sortilege. No doubt the ancient Teutons were familiar with this alphabet, but disposed of it strictly for charms, soothsaying, and magic. These letters, or, to speak more correctly, the runes, were an important part in the religious observances of the Northern nations. As mystical signs, they were under

[1] Mallet, *Northern Antiquities*, p. 231, note (*).

[2] Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch sub voce Alraun.*

[3] Grimm, *Wörterbuch v. cit.*

[4] Ibid., *sub voce cit.*

[5] Simrock, *Deutsche Mythologie*, p. 210. In the old Eddaic *Runenlied*, this discovery is ascribed to Odin.

the direct supervision of the priesthood. Simrock[1] argues, with great force and justice, that the mythological conception of Odin's discovery of the runes was intended to signify that they emanated from him as the supreme deity of the universe, and as such, being an integral portion of himself, inherited divine or supernatural attributes. Viewed in this light, the Oriental and Western traditions of the potency of word combinations were apparently derived from a common source.

It would seem that the irresistible powers of the name, Jehovah of the Jews, or the sacred and ineffable word of the other Semitic races, were so deeply impressed upon those nationalities that the talismanic and magical influence of alphabetic collocation became a radical part of their religious culture. Therefore, in this sense, the Mosaic word, as an emanation of deity, may be regarded as the historical prototype of Odinic runes. A specific supernatural power was supposed to be inherent in Runic characters,[2] and consequently they were used for a diversity of purposes by the ancient Germans.

According to Schlegel,[3] these letters were connected with religious worship, and entirely appropriated to superstitious practices of the priesthood. The alphabet, of wooden blocks, was arranged in a certain mysterious order, as a rubric to accompany a prophetic song or incantation. Large letters were placed together in multifarious combinations, to each of which mystical properties were ascribed.[4] They were divided into two classes, called noxious and favorable runes; the first were employed to bring evil upon an enemy, the other averted misfortunes and procured success in martial combats. Medical runes served to dispel melancholy thoughts, and were an antidote against poison and disease.[5] These differed only in

[1] *Deutsche Mythologie*, p. 213.
[2] Keightly, *Fairy Mythology*, p. 98.
[3] *History of Literature*, p. 153.
[4] Schlegel, *Ibid.*, p. 154.
[5] Mallet, *Northern Antiquities*, p. 218, *et seq.*

the manner of writing them, and with materials of which they were written — in the place where exposed to view, and in the ceremonies attending the preparation of the lines. The most efficacious were drawn up in form of a circle or serpent. Especial talismanic power was attributed to runes written, as the Abracadabra, in shape of a triangle.[1]

The art was still in use so late as the sixth century, according to Venantius Fortunatius, bishop of Poitiers:

"Barbara fraxineis pingatur runa tabellis."

Simrock[2] has preserved an incantation sung over a Runic inscription, the characters of which corresponded to the initials of the song:

"Thur's riskt ek ther ok thria stofi."

The magical use of this alphabet was recognized by the ancient Icelandic laws or gragas. Engraved on a nithing post, these potent charms were of peculiar efficacy, and their application to vengeful purposes was rigidly prohibited by the Norse code.[3] In the Runic chapter,[4] it is asserted that with certain Runes wizards could be discomfited and life restored to the dead. Sometimes an arrow-headed mark was adopted to designate a particular rune dedicated to Thor, and was usually incised upon swords.[5]

Olaus Magnus[6] relates a curious legend concerning a certain man named Gilbert, who had offended his pre-

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 227. With the Jews, the triangle had a peculiar talismanic power. Maimonides, *More Nevochim*, p. 119. It was in this figure that the sacred name usually appeared. Didron, *Christian Iconography*, p. 231, etc.; Westropp and Wake, *Ancient Symbol Worship*, p. 96.

[2] *Deutsche Mythologie*, p. 212.

[3] Dahlmann, *Geschichte von Dännemark*, Bd. II., p. 243; Mallet, *op. cit.*, p. 156.

[4] *Runenlied*, Str. 20.

[5] Worsaae, *Primeval Antiq. of Denmark*, p. 116. For Runic signs, vide Brand, *Popular Antiq.*, Vol. I., p. 299.

[6] Ut exiquo fuste certis characteribus Gothicis, seu Ruthenicis sculpto atque à praeceptore protecto, et manibus apprehenso ipse Gilbertus immobilis maneret. *Hist. Septen.*, Lib. III., c. xx.

ceptor in magic arts. In order to punish him, he was incased in a double set of wooden strips, upon which Runic characters were inscribed. By the irresistible prowess of the runes, according to tradition, Gilbert is yet enthralled.

The Norse sodalities were evidently deeply interested in incantations and soothsaying.[1] A Scandinavian sorceress went from guild to guild telling fortunes and performing magic for the benefit of guildic members.[2] Such conceptions of talismanic influence inherent in the runes, existing among the Germanic fraternities, afforded a ready admission to Judaic or Gnostic notions, touching the mystical power of combined letters contributed by Byzantine building corporations to the early mediæval associations, at a time when Teutonic legislation struggled to suppress magic rites,[3] and welcomed Eastern artificers.

[1] By the ordinance of a guild at Ludlow, established in the year 1284, the members are specifically enjoined against "calling up ghosts after death." Smith, *English Guilds*, p. 194.

[2] When this conjurer made her appearance in the assembly, she was clothed in a blue mantle, and escorted by the Master to the most elevated seat. Thorpe, *Northern Mythology*, Vol. I., p. 215.

[3] Penalties inflicted by law for soothsaying. *Lex Salica*, Tit. XXII., c. 4; *Lex Sal. emend. a Carol. M.*, xxv.; *Edictum, Luitpr. Regis.*, lxxxiii.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

DERIVATION OF WORD "MASON" — TRACED TO MACE, OR HAMMER — MEDIÆVAL SYMBOLICAL USES OF THIS IMPLEMENT — THOR'S WEAPON — SPANISH MAZO — TRAGIC POWERS OF MACE — EMBLEM OF AUTHORITY — THE MIDDLE-AGE MATIONES AND MACERONII — LAPIDICINI, OR STONE-CUTTERS — TRANSLATED BY BOILEAU AS MAÇONS — EARLY ENGLISH MASON — THE MEDIÆVAL CRAFT KNOWN BY THIS NAME.

THE irresistible might attributed to the hammer of the Norse deity, Thor, had so far survived the practice of pagan rites among the Teutonic races, that many of its symbolic uses were perpetuated in the ordinary details of civil and ecclesiastical society during the Middle Ages.[1] Perhaps the last historical application of the redoubted mallet to typical purposes may be found in the surname of the Frankish King, Charles Martel, or Charles the Hammer-Bearer, who, until the rising tide of Moslem conquest in Europe was checked at Tours,[2] still maintained the custom of carrying the diminutive hammer as a prototype of the all-powerful God of Asgard.[3]

Numerous and oft-recurring references in the Eddaic songs to the manifold powers of this divine implement,

[1] Grimm, *Deutsche Rechts Alterthümer*, Cap. iii. Vide *supra*, chap. xxvi., for minute details touching this proposition.

[2] Mariana, *Historia de España*, Tomo I., p. 328.

[3] Grimm, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

attest how profoundly the pagan mind of Northern Europe was impressed with the absolute necessity of its presence, not only in celebrating the battle-god's characteristic worship, but in the humbler spheres of civil and domestic life.[1] The most sacred duties of society were hallowed by the mallet touch, when wielded with emblematic allusion to the binding force inherent in Thor's celebrated weapon. In the cumbersome and solemn ceremony of an ancient Scandinavian marriage, this symbol must rest upon the knee of the veiled bride, in direct allusion to that unquestioning renunciation of personal will which she surrendered unto marital authority.[2]

When, amid imposing rites, the body of the cherished[3] dead was about to be reduced to ashes, or placed upon a fragile bark to endure the merciless tossing of faithless waters,[4] the priesthood, in imitation of the Norse divinity, consecrated the funeral pile with a mallet. With this instrument those who had outlived the age of strength and martial activity were remorselessly slaughtered and sent to Thor. Behind the door in every Teutonic household such a hammer was always hung in view.[5] Although Christianity extinguished the more flagrant features of the ancient paganism, the new religion suffered unnumbered symbolical uses of this implement to continue, and in some instances incorporated them with other religious practices. In this way it survived to mediæval judicial procedure; nor was it restricted to actual court usage, but was oftentimes made

[1] Geijer, *History of Sweden*, Vol. I., p. 31; *Thrymskvidha*, Str. 30.

[2] Geijer, *op. et loc. cit.* Reference to the mighty bolt of Thor was vigorously maintained for succeeding ages by the descendants of the ancient Norseman, in the rite of Christian marriage. Olaus Magnus, *Historia Septentri. Condit.*, Lib. IV., cap. vii.

[3] *Gylfaginning*, 49; Thorpe, *Northern Mythology*, Vol. I., p. 75; Grimm, *Deutsche Rechts Alterthümer*, p. 64; Simrock, *Deutsche Mythologie*, p. 227.

[4] Beowolf, *Anglo-Saxon Songs*, Str. 70, *et seq.*

[5] Geijer, *History of Sweden*, Vol. I., p. 32; Simrock, *op. cit.*, p. 233; vide *supra*, p. 279, note 3.

to serve as an ensign or signal to rally the people of certain districts, in order to congregate them as a united body at a designated place.[1]

Primarily, the suspension of a hammer in churches alluded to the original tragic purposes to which it was formerly applied. Subsequently it was substituted by a club or mace, and in this form for centuries continued to be displayed in many sacred edifices, till towards the close of the Middle Ages.[2] At the entrance of some provincial towns in Germany a club was hung up, at the side of which a doggerel verse portrayed its death-dealing properties, descended from the Norse god's mallet.[3] Even in monasteries an implement of this kind was preserved as an emblem and as a symbol of union.[4] When the early Germanic guilds, dating from the first forms of Teutonic society, had so far developed into an accurately defined element of later times, they still retained the ancient forms, and certainly many of the symbols with which their precursors performed heathen-religious services.[5]

Societies thus based upon the worship of Thor, the di-

[1] Grimm, *ut supra*, p. 65. For additional information on the judicial connection of the mediæval hammer, see Simrock, *op. cit.*, pp. 277–499, and, Maurer, *Geschichte der Markenverfassung*, pp. 161, 162.

[2] Frequently used in convents, and solemnly sounded when an ecclesiastical inmate was expiring. Fosbroke, *British Monachism*, pp. 31, 52–54.

[3] Simrock, *Handbuch der Deutschen Mythologie*, p. 233.

[4] Du Cange, *Glossar. Med. et Infim. Latinit.*, sub v., *Ferula* and *Tabula*.

[5] Christianity equally among the Egyptian symbols adopted their original significance into the new religious usages. Matter, *Histoire du Gnosticisme*, Tom. II., p. 24. From this source and from the unswerving custom noted, the Craft of Freemasons has obtained the ancient gnostic *Eye*, which was oftentimes engraven on a single stone, and portrayed to the initiate mind the idea of sleepless vigilance. Au lieu de la pluralité des yeux, on n'en trouve qu'un seul sur ses pierres. Matter, *op. cit.*, Tom. I., p. 275. It may be added that a mirror was used in the Eastern Mysteries for purposes identical with those noted as current among the mediæval craftsmen. Taylor, *Eleusinian and Bacchic Mysteries, Introduct.*, p. xv. With an occasional exception, however, these ancient societies present no points in common with the mysteries of Masonry.

vine Hammer-Bearer, rigidly maintained the unalterable type of that divinity, the mallet or mace, as a symbol of their closely-organized union.[1] After the victory of Charles Martel at Tours, in France, and the rapid extension of Christianity, consequent upon the defeat of the Mohammedan forces, the hammer, which distinguished this illustrious monarch and procured for him the title of ancient protector of Gallic Masons,[2] apparently ceased to be carried by his successors, the Carlovingian kings, as referring too directly to the Norse battle-god. It was therefore substituted by another implement, equally typical of power, the mace, and still continues in royal ceremonials to be an ensign of authority and union.

From the mallet, club, or mace, of identical and exact signification, the name of Mason has originated. The symbolical attributes of Thor's mallet, or mace, are to this day the groundwork of a Master's authority over a lodge of Masons, and the strange vitality of this deity's symbol still manifests itself in other details of lodge ritualism. This word, traceable, perhaps, through old Teutonic dialects from *megin*, might, to its present Italian form, *mazza*, a hammer, embodies within itself that idea of strength and power with which the irresistible weapon of the Northern divinity was invested, and with the mallet, or mace, Thor was indifferently represented.[3]

The presence of this word as a fundamental one in the original home of European Masons, viz., in Italy, shadows forth that, as this corporation of builders diverged from Northern Italy in order to perpetuate their art throughout Europe, their name, also, originated in the corruption of a word, signifying the implement not only constantly applied in their handiwork, but for a higher reason that the

[1] *Ordnung der Steinmetzen* 1462, Art. 13, and *supra*, cap. xxvi., with authorities annoted.

[2] Boileau, *Règlemens sur les Arts et Métiers de Paris*, cap. xlviii.

[3] Vide *supra*, p. 287.

hammer or mace was the symbol of unity and confraternity in the craft guild, and because, like the later mediæval judicial hammer, it was a type of authority requiring the congregation of all who should behold it or be within hearing of its significant blows.[1] Through the intervening changes of time, the adulterated dialect of Spain has preserved the original derivation from *mazo*, hammer; hence, *mazoneria*, Masonry, or an art so intimately associated with both the practical and symbolical uses of this implement, that the name is directly deduced from that source.

With little labor it may be traced through corrupt mediæval Latinity to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, at which epoch the word, Mason, was fixed by law, and has so continued, without other alteration than a prefix. Perhaps the earliest generic form of this root may be found in the Anglo-Saxon Glossary of Ælfric, where *Mationes* is re-rendered as *Lapidium operarii*, or Workers of Stone. At a later period, it occurs in a monastic chronicle,[2] under the form of *Mactiones*, in the following sentence: "Reversus autem *lapidicinos* et *mactiones*, undecunque jussit aggregari." The words *mactiones* and *lapidicinos* have here the same signification, and mean stone-cutters, or Masons. In the Italian, *macina*, more ancient *macigno*,[3] a stone lap-mill, can be detected the root of mace, or hammer, referring to the mace-shaped implement with which corn was in former ages prepared for domestic use. Middle-Age records use the words *materio* and *macerio*, to distinguish the class of workmen alluded to thus: "Faber ferrarius conventionem suam fecerat annuam, ut ibidem Suessione remanens, *utensilia materonum* (maceronum) reficeret."[4] That is, a skilled

[1] Grimm, *Deutsche Rechts Alterthümer*, pp. 832–833; see *supra*, p. 303; *Ordnung der Steinmetzen* 1462, Art. 28.

[2] Odo Cluniae, *In Vita S. Geraldi. Com. Aureliae*, Lib. II., cap. 4.

[3] Du Cange, *Glossar. Infim. et Medi. Latinitas*, sub. v. *Macina.*

[4] Hugo Forsit, *De Miraculis S. Mariae Suess.*, Lib. VI.. cap. 8.

iron artificer made the usual contract to properly adjust the tools of the Masons.

In the middle of the twelfth century the word appears as now lettered, viz., Mason, and is evidently of Gallic derivation.[1] At the commencement of the ensuing century it was written Maçon,[2] — still adopted by the Craft in France; and in the celebrated Ordinances of Boileau, formally committed to writing in the year 1254, the juxtaposition of this word is identical with those cited above. For instance, in the preceding quotation, the words "lapidicinos et mationes," appear conjoined. In the ordinances referred to they reappear as "taileur de pierre et maçon," and signify a stone-cutter and mason.[3] The close similarity between the phraseology produced, is of so marked significance as to lead to a well-grounded belief that the vulgar idiom used in Boileau's time was an exact translation of lapidicini into taileur de pierre, and of mationes into maçons, which severally define the same class of operatives, or to distinguish artificers whose principal working-tool was the hammer, or mace, symbolizing oftentimes lodge territory, and thus came to be regarded as a type of the guild upon whose members the name of Maçons, or Masons, was bestowed.

From the foregoing historic references, it will, perhaps, clearly appear that down to the latter part of the thirteenth century the building fraternity in the metropolis of the French Empire was recognized by law, and carefully particularized as Maçons, who, it may be added, furnished the work for the Cathedral of Notre Dame de Paris.[4] In Britain, a century earlier, a Master of the Craft designated himself simply Mason, and has so recorded the nomen-

[1] See *supra*, chap. xii.
[2] Du Cange, *Gloss. Infim. et Med. Latinit.*, sub. v. *Macio.*
[3] Boileau, *Règlemens sur les Arts et Métiers*, cap. xlviii.
[4] Hope, *Historical Essay on Architecture*, Vol. I., p. 478.

clature of his profession on a side wall in Melrose Abbey.[1] Early in the fourteenth century — 1334 *circd* — the English versifier, of a more ancient metrical romance,[2] uses the word mace to designate Masonry:

> "He bysette the see and the lond,
> With botemay, and mace strong."

It may be safely asserted that the craft guild of Masons at the epochs mentioned was unknown by any *distinctive name*, either among themselves or by authoritative legislation. About the commencement of the fifteenth century, however, these Craftsmen began to be termed *fremaceons*. This betrays, unquestionably, an elision and merging of Maçon into some prefix, which, at the era under notice, had so far distinguished this class of workmen in England as to entitle them to be recognized by a specific appellation.[3] The fundamental principle of fraternity and brotherhood in the Guild, furnished with the name, the prefix from Gallic sources. By the junction of Frère with Maçon, or Brother Mason, the modern word Freemason has been formed.

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[1] See *supra*, chap. viii.

[2] Weber, *Metrical Romances*, Vol. I., p. 258; Kyng Alisaunder, v. 6257.

[3] This merging was rapidly facilitated by the deplorable neglect with which the Anglo-Saxon dialect was treated by the Norman invaders. Ignorance of the French language constituted a valid cause for rejecting candidates for official position. Thierry, *Histoire de la Conquête de l'Angleterre par les Normands*, Tom. I., p. 219. A similar custom was practised in the Roman Empire. Claudius disfranchised a distinguished Grecian on account of his ignorance of the Latin tongue, and expatriated him. Suetonius, *In Vita Claud.*, cap. 16. During the continuance of the Roman Republic the Latin idiom was rigidly maintained in judicial and military administration of conquered provinces, whether in Greece, Africa, or Asia. Valer. Maximus, *Memorabil.* Lib. II., cap. 2, not. 2. In the year 1187, the King of England held intercourse with the native element by means of an interpreter. Thierry, *op. cit.*, Tom. III., p. 324. The earliest statute in English exclusively was not drawn up until the year 1425, although permitted, but not *ordered*, as some writers assert, by an act of Edward III. Thierry, *op. cit.*, Tom. IV., pp. 362–363.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

THE LEGEND OF PRINCE EDWIN — EDWIN UNKNOWN TO THE CRAFT TILL THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY — MASONS FIRST COME INTO ENGLAND IN BENEDICT'S TIME — HE BRINGS SKILLED ARTIFICERS IN THE EIGHTH CENTURY — THE HOLY FOUR MARTYRS — PATRONS OF THE VENETIAN MASONS — MASONIC HALL IN VENICE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY DEDICATED TO THESE SAINTS.

MASONIC traditions possess no such immunity as to place them beyond that critical test to which the assumed events of history are subjected. Individual opinions resting exclusively upon the apparent age of a legend, current among the Craft, must necessarily be fallacious, and unless grounded on accepted facts should be received with extreme reserve. When a tradition stands in utter antagonism to historical records, it cannot be defended, and should be abandoned to that class of notions aptly termed myths. One obstruction—perhaps the main one—with which Masonic investigations are attended, arises from hasty suggestions, bearing an external appearance of truth, made by our writers without a careful analysis. The distinguished scholar, Henry Hallam, complained that the history of Freemasonry had been made the object of such unbounded panegyrical essays that it would be really refreshing to bring it down to a natural or critical basis.[1]

[1] *Middle Ages*, Vol. II., p. 547, Note 1.

We propose to examine the *probable* character of the Prince Edwin fiction, and its possible authenticity, and, so far as may be, suggest a solution of this vexed question.

For several centuries the Craft of Masons were solemnly informed that their ancient Brethren first appeared in Britain in the time of Athelstan, an Anglo-Saxon king, who reigned in the year 926, and that his son Edwin was selected by that monarch himself to become their first Grand Master, and that this prince called a convocation of Masons at York and provided the Craft with a regular organization.[1] At what exact period of time this tradition originated, is evidently beyond the possibility of reason to determine. The first knowledge of the presumed introduction of Masonic art into England by Athelstan appears in the ancient manuscript poem discovered by Halliwell, and is numbered among the treasures of the British Museum as Royal A. 1. Great diversity of opinion exists touching the antiquity of this manuscript. Mr. Halliwell, who as a learned antiquarian assumes to speak with authority upon this point, asserts it to have been written not later than the year 1390, and his judgment is unqualifiedly the most entitled to respect. From the sweeping character of an act of Parliament enacted in 1389, during the reign of Richard II.,[2] it was absolutely impossible for the Craft guild of Masons to evade the lawful necessity to make a qualified return of the affairs and regulations of their corporation. It is by no means improbable that this vellum chronicle may have been used for the purpose above indicated. A singular uniformity appears between the general statements and regulations of this venerable document and the full returns of other guilds made in accordance with the above statute, collected and published by a recent editor.

At all events, the tradition relating to Athelstan and the

[1] Vide *supra*, p. 166.

[2] Smith, *English Guilds*, p. 123.

Craft was known at whatever period the old manuscript may have been drawn by the copyist, and is referred in the folios as a matter "heard spoken of." Of the existence of a legend concerning Edwin, not the slightest trace appears in the chronicle under notice. This is a significant omission. Subsequent to the foregoing manuscript about one hundred years (1480–90) the Cooke manuscript, No. 23,198, contains the earliest allusion to a *son* of Athelstan, but does not specify him by name. We will assume that Edwin is here referred to. The Landsdowne manuscript, No. 98, Plut. lxxv. E., in the British Museum, and written in the year 1560, makes the first direct and unique use of Edwin's name as son of Athelstan. In nearly every particular the manuscript narratives of the Craft, excepting the Halliwell parchment, may be said to agree upon Edwin's Masonic connection, and the York assembly. The tradition, therefore, touching Athelstan and Prince Edwin, had for an indefinite period of time the highest credit, and was accepted by our precursors as an unquestioned fact.

So far as we know, Dr. Plot, who wrote and published some interesting facts about the Freemasons in the year 1686, was the earliest to point out the lack of paternal relationship between Athelstan and Edwin. He maintained that the Anglo-Saxon king had no son.[1] But the blow which demolished this fragile fiction was dealt by a no less personage than Sharon Turner, erudite historian of the Anglo-Saxons. This scholar briefly stated that no Grand Lodge could have been assembled at York in the year 986 by Edwin, son of Athelstan, for the very best reason, that this monarch had no son.

This legend of the time of Athelstan, so far as the same relates to Edwin, has been abandoned by more accurate Masonic writers, but in its stead the effort has been made to refer the Craft tradition from the tenth century to the

[1] *History of Staffordshire*, § 85.

seventh—associating it still with the city of York. Woodford, the eminent critic, suggests[1] that "tradition sometimes gets confused, after the lapse of time, and that he believes the tradition in itself is true which links Masonry to the church building by the operative brotherhood under Edwin in 627, and to a Guild Charter under Athelstane in 926." Prior to Woodford, and long before he had called attention to this novel adjustment of craft legends, Francis Drake, the archæologist, in 1726, declared "Edwin about the year 600 had laid the foundation of our (York) Cathedral and sat as Grand Master."[2]

By means of a pious fraud, so frequently resorted to by the early evangelists, Edwin, King of Northumberland, in the year 627, professed the faith of Christ, and with many of his subjects was baptized on Easter day at York, in St. Peter's Church, which he himself had constructed of *timber*, during the time he was being catechised for baptismal rites.[3] Edwin afterwards began the erection of a larger church of stone[4] under the direction of Paulinus, intending to enclose the oratory within the walls, but a violent death left the work unfinished. It will be observed from the foregoing statement, which is drawn mainly from the historians Bede and Henry Huntingdon, that the earliest building referred to was composed of wood, and built by the half-civilized king himself; the other, according to the unequivocal expression of the venerable author, was also personally conducted by the same king, and constructed of stone, Paulinus *teaching him*. This, therefore, is the total proof from which the theory has sprung that Edwin

[1] This statement appears in a Masonic oration by the famed historian, a copy of which the author examined in the Lodge library at York.

[2] Hughan's *Old Masonic Charges*, Introduction, p. xiv.

[3] Henrici Huntindoniensis *Historiarum*, Lib. III., p. 328, and Beda, *Historica Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, Lib. II., cap. xiv.

[4] Majorem ipso in loco et augustiorem de lapide fabricare basilicam. Beda, *Ibid.*, § 132.

organized, in the year 627, the Masons into an operative body, and sat as their first Grand Master at the building of the ancient York Church! We unhesitatingly assert that at this period there were no artificers or builders, according to the strict rules of *art*, in England, who were sufficiently skilled to erect a *stone church;* and that the building of stone alluded to was composed of rough rubble or broken fragments rudely held together by cement — in truth, just such an edifice as might be constructed in the most primitive style out of unhewn stone and roughly conjoined without higher skill than is required to form fragmentary pieces into an unshapely mass, simply fastened together by means of mortar. Manifestly under the tutorship of Paulinus, the King of Northumberland, with the aid of his people, was equal to the task of carrying broken stone or cementing it with mortar, and this is the exact significance of the passage in Bede's history.

Fortunately, the earliest introduction of artificers into England competent to erect a stone church, according to the rules of an exact science and mechanical skill, does not depend upon conjecture. In the year 672, St. Benedict introduced, from Gaul or France, into England the *first body of artificers* who were skilled in the construction of stone church edifices.[1] These builders were architects, and under the privileges of their incorporation, reaffirmed by the Theodosian edicts two centuries previous and the Gothic rulers of Northern Italy, had a regular organization. Twenty-nine years before their importation from Gaul by St. Benedict, the Langobardic ruler Rothar had, in the year 643, recognized these building colleges and specifically designated them as *Collegia Comacinorum.*[2] I can interpret the expression *Comacinorum* only as signifying *associate*

[1] Quod artifices lapidearum ædium et vitreanum fenestrarum *primus* omnium Angliam asciverit Will. Malmsburiensis. *De Gestis Regum Anglior.*, Lib. I., cap. 3.

[2] *Edictum Rotharis Regis*, cap. clvii.

Masons, co-macinorum, instead of the meaning usually given — Colleges of Como. At all events, when these artificers appeared in Great Britain, in the year 672, they brought with them the highest skilled labor, a profound knowledge of mechanical or technical art,—the most abstruse of all arts,—and an organization developed and perfected through centuries, possessing the undoubted right to live and be governed wheresoever sojourning, in strict accordance with corporate laws which had been successively allowed and affirmed from the time of Constantine the Great to Rothar, King of the Lombards, in the year 643, or within thirty years of their appearance in England.

From this but one conclusion can be drawn: that in the year 627 King Edwin could not have been Grand Master of a body of skilled Craftsmen, because there was at that time no such Assembly around the walls of his rude edifice of stone and mortar at York, and for the additional reason that an uncivilized ruler had no recognition as the head of artificers whose science represented centuries of exalted periods of civilization! This legend is equally unfortunate on the basis of undisputed history. Our venerable authority expressly states that the object of Bishop Benedict in introducing workmen from the Gallic provinces in the year 710 was to have *artificers* who were competent to build "a church in the style of the Romans," which signifies an absolute dearth of skilled labor in England.[1] History, however, settles the question by declaring in the most positive manner that "*Saint Benedict first of all brought artificers into England who could build stone churches.*"[2]

Halliwell's manuscript narrates that Masonic Craft came into Europe in the time of King Athelstan, whose reign began about the year 924, and continued several years.

[1] Architectos sibi mitti petiit, qui juxta morem Romanorum ecclesiam de lapide in gente ipsius facerent. Beda, *Hist. Eccles.*, Lib. V., cap. 21.

[2] *Ibid.*, Lib. I., cap. 3.

No other ancient document agrees with this assertion. The majority of Masonic chronicles refer the period of the appearance of Masonry into Britain to the age of Saint Alban, one of the early evangelist martyrs, many centuries prior to the time of Athelstan; but they all agree that the Craft came from abroad, and specify Athelstan's reign as an interesting period of Masonic history. From the preceding statement it will be observed that the older Craft chronicles are lacking in harmony upon vital points of tradition, and in some respects, tested by their own records, are totally antagonistic. From the historic facts already adduced, it is very clear that, in case the ancient Craftsmen were for the first time brought into England in the year 672, they were certainly not introduced prior, in St. Alban's age, nor later, in the year 926, when Athelstan was on the throne.

In the seventh century, A. D. 672, when these builders made their earliest entrance into Britain, they brought with them certain traditions, which had maintained an uninterrupted existence down to the time when the oldest English record was drawn up which professed to associate with a more remote period of the fraternity the legend of Holy Four Martyrs of the age of Diocletian. These sainted personages were patrons to the Venetian Craftsmen until the year 1652, when the guild of stonecutters erected an imposing edifice, in which they assembled for Masonic labors. This hall was surmounted by a bas-relief effigy of the Four Saints.[1] This vitalized tradition connected the Masons of England with their continental precursors in Germany, who also possessed it. And curiously enough the Halliwell chronicle makes no allusion to Charles Martel, who is invariably referred to in Craft records written subsequent to the fourteenth century, but these in turn eschew all mention of the martyrs crowned. The Carlo-

[1] Mothes, *Geschichte der Baukunst im Venedig*, Theil II., p. 295.

vingian monarch figures conspicuously as patron of the Gallic Masons in the year 1254.

It may, we think, be asserted as within the limits of reasonable certainty that, from the reign of Athelstan to the Norman conquest, little over one hundred years, there is no probability that a legend could have grown up which claimed that the Craft first appeared in England in Athelstan's time. At no period during the stretch of years alluded to was this possible, especially as the converse of such assertion must have been known to the generation of Craftsmen immediately preceding any supposed epoch of the origin of the tradition. We may, therefore, safely say that from the death of Athelstan to the Norman conquest, in 1066, no tradition associated the English ruler with the introduction of Masons into his kingdom. With the establishment of the Normans and large importation of French Craftsmen into England, all references to any pre-eminence of Anglo-Saxon patrons in the guilds of foreign builders would for an extended period of time be carefully excluded. It is unnecessary to enlarge upon the total and abrupt change which ensued in the conquered country, in consequence of the radical alteration in its ancient government by the relentless exclusion of all Anglo-Saxon element by the Norman invaders. This transformation necessarily affected, if it did not completely eradicate, the native building corporations, which apparently were compelled to merge their separate existence into the predominant bodies of their *confrères* from France.

It may well be conceded that after the modifying influences of several centuries had permitted the Anglo-Saxon admixture of the Masonic colleges to reappear, in exact proportion as the different nationalities became less distinctly marked the gradual effort was begun to trace Craft history through a line of native ascent to early English sources. At the close of the fourteenth century the guild of builders in England depending on oral transmission sug-

gested the origin of their Craft in Athelstan's day. Later records, or perhaps chronicles copied in remote parts of the realm, expanded the traditions of the Fraternity, and added a more distant commencement in the age of Saint Alban, introducing, moreover, the name of Prince Edwin, together with the fabulous Assembly at York. It is perhaps impossible to fix a date for the legends of Edwin and Athelstan, but, adhering to the line of argument adduced in the foregoing article, we assert that, so far as the same relates to Athelstan, it is no earlier than the fourteenth century, while the tradition of Edwin is clearly an enlargement of Craft chronicles of the fifteenth.

APPENDIX.

A.

A CONTRIBUTION TO THE HISTORY OF THE LOST WORD.

By Rev. J. F. Garrison, M.D.

History of the Lost Word — Anxiety of the Ancients to Know the True Name — Its Presumed Powers — The Targums — The Sacred Word Traced to the Jews — Jehovah, or J. H. V. H. — Substitute — Pronunciation of True Name Lost — How Received by the High-Priest — Scriptures Read in the Jewish Synagogues — Temple for the Name — Queen of Sheba Visits Solomon to Obtain the "Word" — It is Concealed in a Rod — Its Potency — Hindoo Omnific Word — Tetragrammaton — Essenes: how Constituted — Eagerness to Obtain the Divine Name — Abraxas — The Gnostics — Cabala — Point Within a Circle — The Yod — Light — Jewish Wisdom, Strength, and Beauty — Jehovahs in Triangles — Three Lighted Candles — Importance of Careful Examination of this Subject.

THERE can be no doubt in the mind of any student of ancient philosophy or theology, of the great importance attached, from a very early date, and among many nations, to the knowledge of the *true name of God.*

We see this very strongly marked in the Hebrew Scriptures, both before and after the Divine utterance of this name to Moses at the foot of Horeb (Ex. vi. 3). Jacob asks the name of the mysterious being who wrestled with him, evidently impressed with the feeling that it was a Divine visitant with whom he had to do (Gen. xxxii. 29, 30), for he says, "I have seen God face to face;" so also Manoah inquired of "the angel of Jehovah," "What is thy name?"

(Judges xiii. 17, 18), and receives for answer, "Why asketh thou thus after my name, for it is *secret?*" or, as in the marginal rendering, "*wonderful,*" the Hebrew word being used in both senses; and this, with the appearance of "the angel," overwhelms him with terror, because "we have seen God."

It was unquestionably the influence of this same desire to know this "secret" or "wonderful" name (and indeed it was regarded as both) that led Moses to make the same inquiry, when God called to him from the "burning bush."

The origin of this feeling lies among the unsolved enigmas of history; although, if I were treating of its relation to theology, I do not think it would be difficult to show that there was an intimate and essential connection between the divine "word" in which God expresses his own nature, and some of the deepest problems of creation and theology.

Whatever may have been the origin of the profound veneration for this word, this wonderful name, to which I have referred, it comes to us, from the very earliest point at which we meet with it in history, invested with the character of a peculiar and most potent charm and mystery. The importance attached to it was not merely from the desire, as a matter of simple knowledge, to be possessed of the true name of God, but also, and in the later periods mainly, from the belief that there were certain great powers belonging to this name: that they who knew and uttered it, with the fitting solemnities and accompaniments, were able, by these means, to perform great wonders; had mastery over the elements; could evoke and control the demoniac powers of the unseen world, and exercise a portion of the attributes of the Divine being, whose nature and might it was supposed to embody and express; and also, that its trivial or blasphemous use, or indeed any use which was not guarded by special solemnities and awe, would be visited by instant death upon the "vain" trifler with this exalted and mighty agency.

The danger of thus taking this "name in vain," is shown very clearly in many of the Jewish traditions, and comments are contained in their Targums, as the ancient translations and paraphrases of the Hebrew Scriptures were called.

In Leviticus xxiv. 10, 11, an account is given of a broil between

"the son of an Israelitish woman, whose father was an Egyptian, and a man of Israel;" and as the English translation renders it, "the Israelitish woman's son blasphemed the name of the LORD, and cursed;" and Moses, having inquired (v. 16) the NAME of the LORD, received for answer, "he that blasphemeth the name of the LORD, shall surely be put to death;" and in accordance with this command, they took him "without the camp, and stoned him with stones." The Targums,[1] in their paraphrase, make the *mere unwarranted utterance of the word* to have been the gravamen of the offence: the Targum of Onkelos says, "he gave *expression* to THE NAME and execrated," "and that he uttered THE NAME that is alone," and it announces the reply of Jehovah to the inquiry of Moses (v. 16) thus: "He who *expresseth* the name of the LORD, dying he shall die." The Palestine Targum shows the profound awe which was attached to the mere saying of the word, in its comment on the opening words of the exquisite song of Moses (Deut. xxxii. 3), "I will publish the name of the LORD;" on which it adds, "Mosheh, who was the doctor of Israel, could not permit himself to pronounce the holy name until he had dedicated his mouth, at the beginning of his hymn, with eighty and five letters, making twenty and one words:" for, says the Jerusalem Targum, "It is not possible, even to one of the highest angels, to utter that name rightly, until they have said holy, holy, holy, thrice [note here the three times three]. And from them Mosheh learned not to utter that name openly, until he shall have dedicated his mouth . . . and after that, he says, Hear ye heavens, it is the name of the LORD."

This conviction of the transcendent eminence of "the word" expressing the Divine name was not, however, by any means peculiar to the Jews; and I shall have occasion, later on, to trace some of its relations to the theology and philosophy of other of the ancient peoples.

Our fullest information regarding it comes from the Hebrew literature; and, as our interest in it, as Masons, belongs almost wholly to the characters with which it has been clothed in Jewish history and tradition, I shall first examine these, in some detail, and then, connecting this with the remains of the same thought, as

[1] The references to the Targums are all taken from Etheridge's translations.

they have been preserved by other nations, I shall endeavor to point out the line by which it has been handed down to modern times, and through which we, as Masons, have become the sole inheritors of one of the most remarkable and beautiful of all the truths or traditions of the world's primeval ages.

It is certainly a most curious fact in history, that the living memory of this strange truth or speculation (whichever it may be called), once so potent in its influence, so widely spread and strictly guarded, should be retained for modern times in the mysterious order of successors to the ancient builders, and in this shrine alone.

The writers of the Christian church make mention, in their commentaries on the Bible and histories of the church, that there was some great virtue thought, by the Jews, to belong to the uttered name of the true God, but almost universally dismiss it with only the passing sneer of "idle superstition."

The Jewish people still maintain a reverence for the holy name, which makes those who are devout always write it with another pen, and speak another word, with softened voice, instead of its too solemn, venerated sounds.

It is only in the Masonic order that the "Divine Word" is a living reality, and subject of interest to the thought of our modern world.

The vast significance attached to the name of God among the Jews, is shown by the very frequent, and often peculiar, use in the Hebrew Scriptures of such expressions as, in "the Name," and by "my Name," when referring to the actual presence and operation of the Divine Being; and very many times, where we would feel it awkward to use such a phrase, and would think it far more natural and fitting to say directly, "God was," or "God did," or "God said," thus and so.

We are so accustomed to the expressions of the Bible in this form, that we do not recognize how peculiar and remarkable they are, nor how unlike the Bible is, in this respect (both the Old Testament and the New), to all our present style of thought, and even to the ordinary usage of all the other writings on religion or philosophy among the ancient nations.

To cite all the passages in which "the Name," or "His Name," or

"the Name of the Lord," is employed as equivalent to the Divine power, or Divine self, would be to transcribe a large portion of the Old Testament, and not a few extracts from the New.

The mere references to the word "Name" occupy five long and closely-printed columns in Cruden's Concordance, and a very large proportion of these show the use of the word in some of the forms which I have indicated; and I will only commend to those who are interested in this matter, and especially in the Masonic relations to "the Name," to note the frequency with which the phrase is thus applied, and the significant allusions with which its employment is very often accompanied.

It will be necessary here to state some facts concerning our English version of the Bible, and the form in which it presents the "Divine Word," for in this very form we have a marked illustration of the prevailing influence of just that profound reverence and awe of the holy name of which I have been speaking; and it will be essential, to a correct study of the Bible, to go behind the words which our translators, in certain cases, have employed, and to insert the original and true Hebrew reading in their stead. This is especially necessary for a right understanding of the continually recurring phrase "the LORD," which meets us on almost every page of the Old Testament.

You will find this, in every correctly printed English Bible, occurring in two kinds of type; one, the ordinary type of the accompanying text, "the Lord"; here it is simply a title of respect or dignity, or an ordinary English form, "my Lord so and so."

It is very often found printed in small capitals, "the LORD." In ALL these cases it indicates the original to be the Hebrew word, J. H. V. H.— the original Hebrew letters being יהוה, Yōdh, Hē, Vau, Hē. Hence, whenever you see the form "the LORD," let it always be read as if, instead of this, it were the Hebrew word J. H. V. H., for this is what it stands for. I will now proceed to trace the way in which this form came to be adopted.

The change itself is the result of the terror of expressing the Divine name, to which I referred in the quotation from the Targum upon Lev. xxiv. 10, 11; and also from a fear of incurring the curse, thought to have the same import, in their understanding of the third commandment, whose correct reading is, "Thou shalt not

lift up (or utter) the name J. H. V. H., thy God, to vanity," i. e., idly, in a foolish or deceitful way.

In order to avoid the curse which they imagined was thus threatened against any "vain" or unreverential uttering of the sacred word, they carefully abstained from *every use of it* in common conversation, or their ordinary writing; they generally used instead of it, when speaking, the word "Adonah" or "Adonai," which was a title of high dignity, like our English title of "my lord," and also was one of the less sacred designations of the Almighty.

When they came to the mystic J. H. V. H., in reading the Hebrew Bible, they always said, in place of these, this same "substitute" Adonah; and in the transcription of the manuscripts of Holy Writ, their scribes, we are informed, were constantly accustomed either to write these venerated letters with a pen especially reserved for them, or else to cleanse the one they were employing, with the utmost care, before they ventured to insert the sacred name, which they so dreaded "to lift up in vanity."

The only person by whom the real word was ever uttered, with its true pronunciation, was the Great High-Priest of the Jewish worship: and their uniform tradition is, that he employed it only in the most solemn form of benediction, at the close of certain of the temple services, and when he went, once a year, on the great day of atonement, into the awe-inspiring inner chamber of the sanctuary, the Holiest of Holies, or Sanctum Sanctorum.

This latter occasion seems, after a time, to have become the only condition under which it was pronounced at all — the "substitute" Adonah being used, even in the solemn benediction, the same as it was in all ordinary conversation when the name of God was spoken of.

So that, for many generations, it is probable "the Divine Word" was uttered only on one day of the year, and by one man, in all the Jewish nation.

On that day, the grandest and most awful ceremonial of the sublime temple service (the atonement for the sins of the whole people) was performed.

The high-priest sanctified himself for days before by the most careful preparation, in solitude and prayer, that no unholiness or

impurity should bring on him the curse of death when he should pass behind the mystic veil, and stand in the blazing presence of the divine glory within the "holiest place of all."

When, therefore, the solemn hour arrives, in dread and wonder, with smoking censer and basin of the fresh shed blood to sprinkle on the mercy-seat, he goes alone into the awful sanctuary, and reads there, by the light of the shekinah, the letters of the mighty name, "put there" (1 Kings ix. 3) by the Divine command; and by that name calls on the one true God, who has revealed Himself in it; and by that name prays Him for the forgiveness and atonement of his sinning, but repentant people Israel.

With our ideas of written language, all these precautions and solemnities attached to any word would indicate great reverence towards the being whom it named, and might inculcate a proper sense of the veneration due to it and him, but could, in no way, prevent our knowledge of the word itself, nor materially affect our true pronunciation of it.

It was entirely different, however, under the mode in which the Hebrew language, while a living tongue, was written.

We now write out, or print, each word in full, inserting both the consonants and vowels; hence we would write the name of our Order thus, Masonic; but in the Hebrew manuscripts, from the earliest age down to a period probably long after Christ, they only wrote the *consonants*, and left the vowels (by which these should be sounded, and consequently the true pronunciation given to the word) to be conveyed and handed down, from age to age, entirely by the living teacher. In writing, the only letters of the title of the Order would have been M. S. N. C.; but whether these stood really for Mu-so-nac, Mi-se-nuc, or Ma-son-ic, could be known only to those who had actually heard the right pronunciation from some one who had himself been rightly taught. If, therefore, the correct sounds had not been uttered openly for centuries, the very word itself would have become unknown to the great body of the people. If those who did know it should have failed to preserve and hand it down for even a single generation, it would become a "lost word;" and without some supernatural method of recovery should intervene, would, in all probability, be lost forever.

Now, just this was, in fact, the history of the sacred name J. H. V. H. Little by little its use became less frequent; it never was heard in common conversation; the readers of the Scriptures in the synagogues, when they came to it, always said its substitute, "Adonah, the Lord." After a time, it was never uttered except by the Great High-Priest upon the solemn day of the atonement. He used it as the word with which he drew nigh to God, as he passed into the Sanctum Sanctorum, the Holiest of Holies; and only when he stood within that solemn presence was it audibly pronounced.

In the fear lest he should die without provision for its knowledge when the same dread solemnity should again demand its use, the officiating priest, so Hebrew tradition tells us, took his next successor into the outer holy, and there, in whispered tones, gave him the sacred "secret word," with binding oath never by him to be repeated, except in the *same way and manner in which he had himself received it.*

So, while the first temple stood, the true word passed on down from age to age, although, for a long time perhaps, in the sole line of the high-priests; but in some of the after civil dissensions and captivities of the Jews, some one of the high-priests failed to give it to his successor, or the last one in possession of it perished; and thus, once "lost," there was no source from which it could be again supplied, and nothing remained but, ever afterward, to use the substitute "Adonah" when the Divine name was *spoken* of, and to *write* the sacred four letters, יהוה, J. H. V. H., without the knowledge of the real word which they denoted.

So that from that time on the true name of the living God was a "lost word" to men; and the two forms under which we have it in our English version, which are sometimes "the LORD," and sometimes JeHoVaH, are both derived from the employment of Adonah as the substitute, and in the following ways: Ptolemy Philadelphus, one of the Greek dynasty of the kings of Egypt, desired, about 280 B. C., to have among the books in a large library he was collecting, a translation of the Hebrew Scriptures into Greek. The version, we are told, was made by seventy of the most learned and pious Jews in Egypt, and hence is called the "Translation of the LXX," or the Septuagint; and these translators, whenever

they came to the mystic letters J. H. V. H., always rendered them by the Greek words ὁ κυριος, meaning exactly the same as Adonah, "the LORD."

As this Greek version was of high authority with the translators of the English Bible, these followed its example, and mostly rendered the Greek words ὁ κυριος into their English form, "the LORD;" but as they wished to signify where this was used as only a title of respect, and where as a substitute for the Holy Name, they had it printed in small capitals, "the LORD," *whenever it stood for the word* J. H. V. H. in Hebrew, and thus the form "the LORD" came into our text. The English version sometimes, also, uses the word JeHoVaH, as if this were the real Hebrew of the Holy Name transferred directly to our Bible. But this is certainly not the true form of the lost word.

Some time, we know not exactly when, after the Christian era, the Jewish rabbis, fearing lest, in the dispersion of the nation, their language would be entirely lost, began to insert little marks into their manuscripts of holy writ, in order to signify the vowels which belonged to every word, and by the aid of which it might be read aright; but when they came to the word J. H. V. H. they did not know what its true vowels were, and if they had, most probably would not have put them in; but following still their notion of its substitute, gave to the sacred consonants the vowel sounds of the word Adonah, and wrote the Holy Name as JeHoVaH, which is thus formed by the insertion of vowels which do not belong to it; and it, consequently, IS NOT the SACRED WORD *at all*, but only the rabbinical perversion of it, and leaves us as far from a knowledge of the true Name as we were before.

This hurried outline of the mode in which the holy word was lost, accords with the preëminence attached to the name of God in all the Jewish Scriptures, and in all the remains of their traditions and interpretations of the Scriptures.

The most important of these last are what are called "the Targums." These are the authorized translations and paraphrases explanatory of the sacred text, which were read in the synagogues after the Hebrew tongue had ceased to be a living language. The reader of the day read in the Hebrew text the portion of the Scrip-

ture which was appointed for the service, paragraph by paragraph; and as he closed each sentence, one standing by him read a translation of the paragraph into the common language. This, oftentimes, was also a short explanation of the meaning of the text, as it was then taken by the rabbis. These we have still preserved to us in nearly, if not precisely, the very forms in which they were read in the synagogues at the Christian era, and they are what I have referred to by the name of Targums. Whether we take their explanations as correct or not, they give us, as no other writings can, the mode in which the Jewish scholars then, and for centuries before, had understood their sacred Scriptures; and in these we learn very fully how they regarded the Divine Name, even more clearly than by its ordinary usage in the Bible.

The Bible employs "the Name," or "my Name," etc., very constantly, and often as an equivalent of the Divine presence, or the power of God; but as its wont is, leaves the mere use of it to be its own interpreter. Thus it says of the future tabernacle and temple (Ex. xx. 24), "Where I record MY NAME, I will come unto thee;" of Solomon (2 Sam. vii. 13), "He shall build an house for My NAME." It calls the temple (1 Kings ix. 3), "The house thou hast built to put My NAME there." "Let us exalt His NAME," saith the Psalmist; "How excellent is Thy NAME in all the earth," "The NAME of the God of Jacob defend thee," "Our help is in the NAME of the LORD." The Queen of Sheba came to Solomon "when she (1 Kings x. 1) heard his fame concerning the NAME J. H. V. H." (of the LORD). Elijah brings fire down on his sacrifice upon Carmel, by calling on "the NAME J. H. V. H." (of the LORD); and Malachi closes the Old Testament, "My NAME shall be great among the heathen" (Mal. i. 11), and "a book of remembrance was written before him for them that feared J. H. V. H (the LORD), (Mal. iii. 16), and thought upon his NAME."

So also in the New Testament, Jesus says of himself (John x. 25), "the works that I do in my Father's NAME, they bear witness of me." He embodies his thought of his own life (John xvii. 6), "I have manifested thy NAME to the men whom thou gavest me." His model prayer contains "Hallowed be thy NAME." The formula by which He orders his disciples to baptize the nations is, "*Into*

the NAME of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost;" the Seventy return to him exultant in the fact that "even the devils are subject unto us through thy NAME" (Luke x. 17). Peter and John, after His resurrection, bid the same man, "in the NAME of Jesus of Nazareth, rise up and walk" (Acts iii. 6). When the sanhedrin (Acts iv. 7) asked, "By what power or by what NAME have ye done this?" Peter replied, "By the NAME of Jesus Christ of Nazareth doth this man stand here before you whole."

These passages are but a very few among the great number in which the supremacy, and might, and presence of the Divine Being are expressed by "the NAME," or regarded as inherent in and belonging to it. And this is still more strikingly apparent in the paraphrases of the Targums.

According to one of these (Ex. ii.), when Moses came to the house of the priest of Midian, after his first flight from Egypt, he there was "showed the rod which was created between the evenings, and on which was engraven and set forth the great and glorious NAME with which he was to do the wonders in Mizraim." Pharaoh is represented (Ex. v. 2) as saying, "Who is Yeva (the Targum form of the Divine name), that I should obey His voice? I have not found the NAME of the LORD in the book of the angels, of Him I am not afraid, etc." The power of the Urim and Thummim (Ex. xxviii.) was because "in them was engraven and expressed the great and holy NAME by which were created the three hundred and ten worlds, and which was engraven and expressed in the foundation stone wherewith the Lord of hosts sealed up the mouth of the great deep at the beginning, whosoever remembereth that word in the hour of necessity shall be delivered." "They shall worship the NAME Yeva only." (On Ex. xxii. 20). One especial enormity, of the making of the golden calf at Sinai, was (Ex. xxx. 25) that it was made of the crowns upon the heads of the people, given them at Horeb, and "which were inscribed and beautified with the great and glorious NAME," "which was set forth at Horeb."

I might multiply extracts to this same effect almost indefinitely, both from the Bible and the various remains of ancient Hebrew tradition, but the above establish, beyond question, the supreme importance attached by the Jews to the possession and the use of this once-revealed, but now lost, name of God. I now turn to mark

the traces of the same opinion among certain of the Gentile nations.

The Vedas, the sacred hymns of the Hindus, always begin with the word AUM, which[1] is, by some writers, explained to be composed of the initial letters of the names of their three principal gods; by others, as an ancient form of the word meaning "that," implying the undefined and indefinable nature of original source of all existence. In either case, as a designation of the ineffable Name of the supreme source of being, and a word of mystical significance and power, and under the form of Om it is still so regarded by the Buddhists throughout all Eastern Asia.

Herodotus (450 B. C.) refers many times to a sacred name for their deity among the Egyptians, which they were unable or unwilling to alter. In the Book of the Dead, which was a roll deposited with every dead body, to be the record of his hope in eternity, we find, among other expressions about their gods, these, or similar ones, often recurring: "I am the Great God, existing of myself, the creator of his Name;" "I know the Name of this Great God that is there."

Plato expresses the feelings of Socrates (in Philebus), "the dread which I always feel as regards the names of the gods is beyond even the greatest fear." Pythagoras, as is well known, made the reverence for the "four-lettered word," or, as it is called in Greek, the Tetragrammaton, or Tetractys, one of the essential elements of his instruction: and this word was the Name of the supreme deity.[2] It was the oath by which he always swore, as the most solemn and binding of all. One of his disciples says, "There is nothing in the whole world which does not depend upon the Tetractys, as its root and principle, for it is the Maker of all things, the intelligible God."

The source whence he derived this notion, and even the mystical word itself, have been the subjects of much inquiry with scholars; but, seeing that he travelled twenty years in Egypt, Persia, Chaldea, Sidon, and Crete, I think it scarcely possible he should not have come in contact with the Jews, and hence agree with Cudworth, "that the Tetractys was nothing else but the proper NAME of the Supreme God among the Hebrews." This, more especially, as the Greek word Iao and the Latin Jove, both which

[1] Hardwicke, *Christ and Other Masters*, p. 125. [2] Cudworth, Vol. II., 14.

are evidently fragments of the Hebrew sacred name, were titles or designations among each people of their chief deity; and show that, somehow or other, a partial knowledge of this holy word had, at a very early date, extended to them as well as to the Jews.

The opinions of Pythagoras on this have an especial interest to the Masonic student, from the high place he holds in the traditions of the Order. It is more than probable that it was his teaching about the "secret word" which brought his name and doctrines into connection with certain of the later schools of Jewish speculation; and thus, about the period of the Christian era, combined together, in a union which has been ever since maintained, these similar, yet heretofore widely-separated, elements of Egyptian theology, Greek speculation, and Hebrew tradition and Scriptures.

The first of the associations in which these elements are found thus joined, was the mysterious order of the Essenes.

These are generally spoken of as merely a sect of the Jews; but neither in their tenets nor their locality were they exclusively Jewish. Their doctrines were contained in certain mystical interpretations of the Hebrew Scriptures, received from ancient tradition handed down from time immemorial by oral transmission, and preserved with the most profound care and secrecy; while in their discipline of life, they were so nearly like the teachings of Pythagoras, that Hippolytus (A. D. 250) says of them:[1] "They were in Egypt in the time of Pythagoras, and most of his ideas were derived from them."

So far were they from being merely a narrow Jewish sect, we are told by Philo, the Jew,[2] that, although they were most numerous in Egypt and Palestine, "they were dispersed through many parts of the world, as they thought it requisite that both Greeks and barbarians should partake of so *excellent a benefit*."

Their name Essene is interpreted, by Westcott,[3] as meaning "the silent or mysterious," and all their discipline was in strict accordance with their name.

In every city where they had a society, there was a president, by whom all their affairs were regulated. When any one desired initiation he was admitted on probation for a year, receiving, on

[1] Hippolytus, Bk. IX., 22. [2] Prideaux *Connexions*, Vol. II., 232.
[3] Smith's *Bible Dictionary*, "Essene."

his entrance, a white apron or girdle, and a small pick-axe. At the end of this probation, if he had given satisfaction, he was advanced to a higher degree, but still was not admitted to their private meetings. In this second stage he continued for two years longer, and, if then thought worthy, was raised to a full membership.

Before admission to the highest grade, he took most dreadful oaths: to believe and worship God, to be just to all men, that he will conceal the mysteries of the sect, and not communicate them to any one not a member, and preserve with equal care the books of the order, and the *names* of the angels. On this, Dollinger[1] remarks: "In their estimation, the sun was a living being, and without doubt he had a NAME to be kept secret." He is correct about "the secret name;" but it was undoubtedly the mystic name of God, and there is no proof whatever that it had any reference to the sun as a living being.

They furthermore vow not to deliver their doctrines, to any of the brethren even, otherwise than as they have themselves received them.

They were allowed to practise any of the peaceful arts, and did their work, after certain prayers offered in certain ancient forms, under the direction of the superiors of the society. About noon they assemble in their private room, each with a white linen apron on him, and while at their meal are exhorted by the elders to moderation — not to pervert the purposes of refreshment to those of intemperance or excess. No disorder or unbrotherly conduct was allowed among them. Their three main topics of instruction were: love to God, to virtue, and to their neighbor. They also divided the day into three equal parts—eight hours for study, eight hours for prayer and rest, and eight hours for labor. One of their main doctrines was the resurrection of the body, and Enfield[2] says of them, "they were a fraternity formed for the purpose of subduing their passions." No women ever were admitted to any branches of the society, and some of them forbid marriage to their members, but in others they were left free to do as they should please in this.

[1] *The Gentile and Jew*, Vol II., 314.
[2] *History of Philosophy*, 394.

I have sketched only a bare outline of this "mysterious" order, but enough, I am sure, to demonstrate to every Mason that, however we may account for it, it possesses many points of deepest interest to every student of the history of Masonry; and also that it forms one of the links in the transmission of the lost word to the Gentile nations.

With the introduction of Christianity, the interest in the Old Testament was almost wholly centred in their study of its relations to "the Christ," and from this came a corresponding neglect of all the Jewish studies and traditions.

Hence, among the "orthodox" church writers there is not very much said about "the sacred name." But the opinion that there was some great mystery contained in it still held its place among the accepted traditions of the church.

Clement, of Alexandria (in Egypt, A. D. 200), says:[1] "The mystics say it was by this word that Moses slew the Egyptian, and by speaking it Saint Peter destroyed those who appropriated the land in the Acts of the Apostles, and lied about it," while he adds also, that it was engraven on the pillars of the Holiest of Holies, from which hung the sacred veil—one letter on each of the four pillars—that it might thus be known only to those who entered into the mysterious adytum.

Origen[2] attaches so much importance to the possession and use of the true name of God, that he considers the having of it as an especial privilege belonging to the worshippers of the true God alone.

There are casual allusions also in patristic and other writers which show that it was a matter of general knowledge, and reckoned among the mysteries of Biblical interpretation in that period of the church.

The chief tendency to speculative theology in the early church was not in the orthodox communion, for its interests were almost wholly practical, but in certain of the philosophical outgrowths of Christianity, especially among those known as the Gnostic sects.

A very favorite theme with some of these was the relation of the "sacred word" to God, whom it expressed, and its embodiment

[1] Clem. of Alex., *Stromata*, Bk. V., c. 6; Bk. I., c. 23.

[2] *Against Celsus*, Bk. I., c. 24.

and manifestation in Christ, whom they regarded as its true and living realization in the sphere of actual creation.

There was an old Jewish canon[1] that the name of the divine and the divine itself were one, "and these sects, adopting this as a fundamental principle, transferred the ancient traditions about יהוה (J. H. V. H.) to the name Jesus, which being in Greek Iesus, began with the letter I — iota corresponding to the Heb. י (yodh) — and endeavored in like manner to express in it all the divine attributes, especially the relation of the divine nature to creation, and its manifestation in the coming of Jesus (Iesus) as the living 'word of God.'"

In the structure of this as their holy name, and its marvellous properties, they, some in one mode, some in another, thought that all these mysteries were contained, and could be solved.

One of them, Monoimus,[2] asserts that the eternal universe produced eternally a perfect son, a man, as fire produces light; and the representation of this son is "the jot, the tittle" of the letter י (the yodh of the Hebrew, and the iota of the Greek), the first letter of the sacred name, which also comprises in itself all things that are, and from it all the creation has been unfolded.

Valentinus[3] advocated, "as the source of the evolution of the universe," a quaternion or fourfold power, using the precise expression of Pythagoras in describing his mysterious tetractys, or four-lettered word, who also says of it, that it "has the iota" (the י, the yodh of the Hebrews), and "from it comes all natural and sensible things:" *i. e.*, it is the symbol of the Creator of all the actual universe.

In the system of Basilides, the universe of living beings proceeded from the nameless eternal. The first of these *living powers or existences* is "the Great Ruler," whom he calls Abraxas. The meaning of this word has been much disputed; but it certainly represents the ineffable, sacred name, and was engraven on stones, and worn as a charm (see Fort's Text, p. 426). I have no doubt that it was an equivalent of the Hebrew holy name, both from the place which it holds in his system, and from the inscription Iao,

[1] Cudworth, *Intellectual System*, Vol. II., p. 18.
[2] Hippolyt, Bk. VIII., c. 5, 6.
[3] Hippolyt, Bk. VI., *passim*.

the Greek form of the name of God, which was generally inscribed upon the reverse of these abraxas stones. And this is also confirmed in the etymology of Matter in his work on Gnosticism,[1] who says that "abrac" is the Kopt (Egyptian) for "blessed, sacred," and "sadsch" (the Greek form for which is "Sax") means word: the compound thus signifying "blessed or sacred word." This word "abrac" is also, I think, the same as that in Gen. xli. 43, which the Egyptians cried before Joseph when he rode in the king's chariot. This is translated in our Bible, "Bow the knee;" but in the original it is "abrech," which is certainly very closely analogous to the one under consideration, while the meaning "blessed" is quite as appropriate, and has the sanction of several commentators and lexicons. There can, I think, be no question that the possession of "the faculty of abrac," in the old Masonic document, refers to this, and, as Fort, chap. xxxvi., has more fully shown, means an acquaintance with the mysterious knowledge and powers belonging to the Divine name under this form of the word "abraxas," while it furnishes, at the same time, another and very curious link in the history of the transmission of the mysterious, or omnific, or ineffable, or sacred word, for it is known by all these names, and shows the union of the double line of Hebrew tradition and Egyptian speculation in these new schools of Christian Gnostic theology.

This union once effected, the influence of its old elements seemed all to revive again. The study of the deep problems concerning the Divine "word" and nature engaged the thoughts, and formed the basis of almost innumerable sects, all connected in some way with these pregnant old ideas; many of them were secret associations; all of them were fond of expressing, or veiling, their speculations in symbolic forms.

These systems are generally spoken of in bulk as "Gnostic heresies," and so dismissed with the usual contempt of ignorance, as thus properly disposed of, but which, in fact, are, many of them, eminently worth the study of every philosophic or theologic student, and are as profound and suggestive in their real thought as they are alien to all modern ways of representing it.

[1] Quoted in Milman, *History of Christianity*, Vol. II., p. 70.

One by one the various sects which made the Omnific Name thus the centre of their speculations pass out of notice as distinct organizations or theologic schools; not so, however, with the impulse of that great influence itself.

We find this, just before the Reformation, amplified into a system more elaborate and complete than any, upon the same theme, which had before existed; and now not as a sect, but as a scheme of thought, which seemed a sort of common ground (so far as concerned the nature of God and his relations to the created universe) for thinkers from the most different schools of the then prevalent religions.

This is the system known to us as the cabala, and was the accepted philosophical theology of many of the most distinguished of the Reformers and English Protestants of a much later date, having also advocates among the staunchest maintainers of the papal faith, and being widely accepted as the current Biblical interpretation of the Jewish scholars of that period, as it had been for centuries before.

It is these speculations of the cabala, in which the traditions of the previous ages have come down to us, under the forms in which we, as Masons, and especially in the Chapter Degrees, are accustomed to receive them.

The points of identity are so many, so various, and so essential in the very structure of the order, that I do not hesitate to infer (and, I think, every competently-instructed Mason will agree with me) that, at some period in their history (I am not here inquiring when), the association of the great builders of Western Asia, and which passed over, later, into the Masonic guilds of Latin and Teutonic Europe, had made or found the mystery of the omnific word an integral element of their secret science; and that this (which, in one of their old documents, is called "The Faculty of Abrac," see Fort's Text, chap. xxxvi.), under substantially the same forms as in the cabala, has been preserved, and still remains as an essential portion of the traditions and symbols of the Masonic order in its different degrees.

The word cabala (or cabballa, as it is spelled in several different ways) is indicative of the mode in which its doctrines were for many centuries conveyed. It is from the Hebrew קַבָּל, which

means "received:" because received and handed down from age to age by oral transmission.[1]

The exoteric portion of their doctrines was committed to writing, in several books, not later than the fourteenth century. Some date their earliest writings as far back as the eighth century.

Nearly all admit that the substance of their teachings had been in existence, as an oral tradition, long centuries before the earliest of these dates.

Their chief book was called "Sohar," or "Light," or, by an older title, "Exposition — Let there be Light;" because its principal theme was the Divine light, and its expression in the Divine words of Gen. i. 3.

In their conception, the supreme origin of the universe was being, boundless, nameless, and whose nature was infinite light.

This was expressed by the Hebrew compound word Hor-Ha-En-Soph, meaning, literally, "Ha-Hor, the light," and "En-Soph, without limits;" or, as very generally used, contracted into En-Soph, the infinite, the limitless. And this is the term by which the eternal origin of all things is indicated. In passing out to effect creation, this "En-Soph" first produces from itself the simplest of all things, which is a point, a dot (.). This is, in theology, the same truth expressed geometrically by Pythagoras, who said, "The element of all existences is a point;" extended out in length, it forms a line; expanded in every direction, it is a surface; the line curved round a centre becomes a circle; and, hence, a point in a circle represents the elements of all possible mathematic or created figures in the universe and their origin.

This point being regarded in the cabala as the sign of the *Divine creative energy* first passing into act, it was, in their symbolism, most generally represented in the form of the first letter of the creative or omnific word, יהוה, Yodh-He-Vau-He, and hence was written as (י), the letter Yodh of the Almighty name. This is the same as our Y or J, for it is pronounced either way, according to different circumstances. And it is (Fig. 31) this that we should behold in the centre of the glory in "the East," instead of the now universal, but far less significant letter (Fig. 32) which occupies this high position in "the place of Light."

[1] Most of these facts are derived from Ginsberg, *On the Cabala*, although some of the details are from other sources.

In the long ignorance, which at one time prevailed among the Order, of the true riches of its own traditions and symbolic figures, it had lost the deep meaning which formerly attached to this mystic letter (י), and which it was intended always to recall when seen Masonically. But, although the full import of its meaning was for a time forgotten, the sound, as that of our letter J, was still preserved and handed down, and with this, also, the general knowledge that it referred to the Divine Name, so that it came to be, at last, regarded as only an initial letter, and the modern G then very easily assumed its place.

Fig. 31.

Fig. 32.

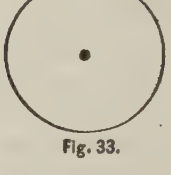

Fig. 33.

But many references in the preceding sketch, and especially to the doctrines of the cabala, have shown that, whether as the dot within the circle (Fig. 33), or as the Yodh surmounted by the light (Fig. 31), this symbol was considered, not simply as a mathematic point, or the commencing letter of an ordinary name of God, but much rather as representing a part of the mysterious name יהוה, hence, as signifying God himself as the essential source and author of all being and creation. And thus, also, it stands for the first going forth of the eternal light as a creative power: the first Divine act from which, as their true point and centre (Fig. 33), all things must flow: the omnific word in its first utterance, from which and by which the universe in all its parts was made.

In accordance with the high importance thus attached to it, we find this first manifestation of the Divine called, among the cabalists, by several most significant names; some having reference to it as represented by the dot (Fig. 33); others to the more suggestive Yodh (Fig. 31); and others, again, to certain of its essential attributes, as they understood them. Among these names are: The Crown, the Ancient, the Primordial Point, the I Am, the Divine Name, the Ineffable, etc.

It is also called, with reference both to its nature and its place,

"the chief Sephira, or Splendor," "sephira" meaning light or splendor; for they regarded it, although having a form yet, as being in itself a "light," produced by, or emanating from, the infinite, eternal light; and "chief," as being the first of a series of sephiræ or lights (which are, at the same time, also high intelligences) that have successively proceeded from the source of all being, by and through the creative power of this, the "first Great Light."

Hence, the Divine "word," — "the word of God," — occupied in the cabala the preëminent position of being the essential means whereby the power of the Divine was manifested, and a knowledge of the Divine attributes and nature revealed to his created universe; and thus rightly was held by them, whether regarded as the spoken word, the living light of light, or the word of the written revelation as their "first Great Light," God's most inestimable and highest gift to man.

From this chief sephira, or light, there came forth, as they expressed it, nine other sephiræ — a mysterious three times three. Each one of these embodied one of the attributes of the Divine nature, such as wisdom, beauty, strength, etc.; and to each of them was also given some one of the corresponding names of God in Hebrew. Among these were El, Shaddai, Adonah, Elohim, etc.

These emanations or *lights*, thus proceeding from the Infinite Source of Light, are, further, always represented as being associated in groups of three. Each of these groups has one chief light, or Divine attribute, from which the whole group takes its name. The first triad, or group of three, consists of "the first great light," or the ineffable, — the light of intellect, the light of wisdom, — and is called WISDOM, representing the intellectual world proceeding from and enlightened by the word of God.

The second group is composed of justice, mercy, and beauty, expressive of God's moral nature, and is called BEAUTY.

The third contains firmness, glory, and foundation, or establishment, signifying the material world, and that by STRENGTH it should be established.

From the ninth of these sephiræ, foundation, proceeds another, being the tenth, called the kingdom, or the shekinah, and having the Hebrew name Adonah, as the name of God, attached to it; this,

probably, signifying that the Divine kingdom on earth was the result and final outcome, in this world, of all the various attributes and manifestations of God.

In order to convey or to preserve their notions of the relations of these various lights to one another, and to their Infinite Source, the cabalists were accustomed to represent them in numerous symbolic diagrams or figures.

Sometimes these are arranged in triangles, and each *triangle is composed of three lighted candles* or lamps. These lights were called by the name of the sephira, or attribute, whose place they occupied;

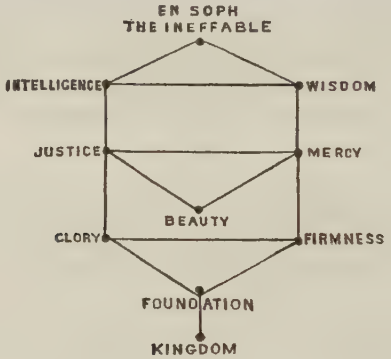

Fig. 34.

and the whole was framed into a sort of rude shape of the human figure, while each triad was designated, as we have seen, by the name of the Divine attribute which it was intended most prominently to express, these being Wisdom, Beauty, and Strength, for their respective triangles.

There is another form in which they are arranged, which, though preserving the same rough semblance to the form of man, disposes the names of the sephiræ, three on one side, three on the other, and four down the middle. When arranged in this mode, they are called the three pillars, or columns, of the universe.

These are sometimes called, from one of the chief attributes in each line, the pillar of mercy, the pillar of judgment, and the middle pillar; but they may be named, and for the same reason,

the columns of Wisdom, Strength, and Beauty, as in the arrangement by triangles. And these are especially fitting to be selected as the attributes of God, viewed in the aspect of Creator, for it was

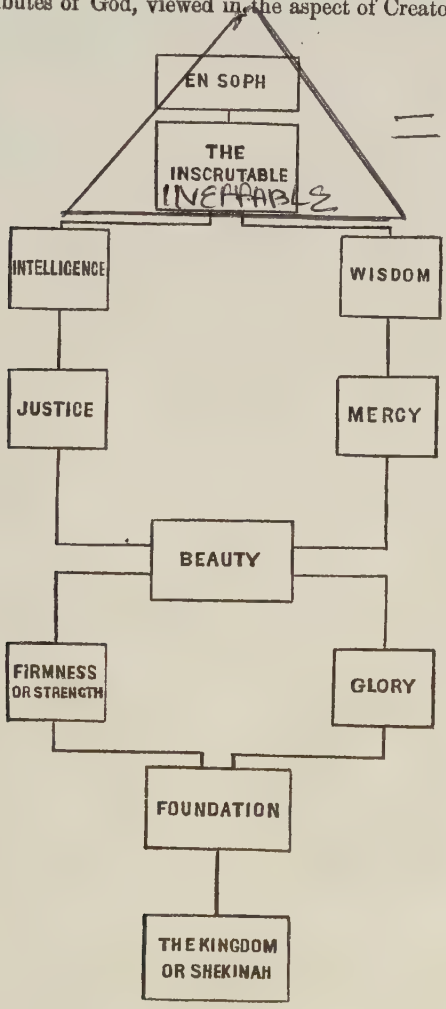

Fig. 35.

through the exercise of these, preëminently, that God — called by one of the fathers the Geometrician of the universe, and the Delineator of the heavenly temple — created, and must continually support, the temple of universe, which He not only forms, but in which He also dwells, as its eternal, all-pervading, ever-present spirit.

Thus, therefore, in forms and under symbols strange to our modern thought, and yet most true and most suggestive, the "Divine word" is presented to us as "the great Architect of the universe," and, at the same time, as its source, light, and support — its wisdom, strength, and beauty, — lost as a "word" for men to speak, but immortal as the manifested power, nature, and truth of the unfathomable yet ever-living and true God.

Nor are these the only modes in which they were accustomed to convey the same great conceptions; or, rather, they combined the essential elements which have been now explained, in a great variety of ways, according to the use they wished to make of them.

Fig. 36.

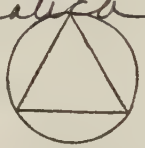

Fig. 37.

Fig. 38.

Among these was the simple figure of the triangle (Fig. 36), or the triangle in a circle (Fig 37). Sometimes these were surrounded with a circlet of rays of light shooting out in every direction all

Fig. 39.

Fig. 40.

around. Very often the triangle contained the letter yodh (Fig. 38); occasionally the whole Divine name, of which this was the signifi-

cant initial (Fig. 39); and, in another variety, the circle of light is removed to some distance from the mystic centre. Whether this be the single yodh or the inscribed triangle, thus forming a more suggestive point and circle (Fig. 40) than the base geometric figure usually seen, their significance is identical.

All these, and many others that might be given, are only different forms of the one old conception which we have been tracing down, as the mystery of the omnific word, through the long track of more than forty centuries, and which we have found everywhere, throughout all that long stretch of ages, employing essentially the same symbolism, setting forth essentially the same truths, and always possessing an especial charm for those who have been occupied with the study of its meaning, or given themselves to meditation on the high themes which it suggests.

I know no other thought in human history which has had such intense vitality; none which can claim so continuous and unbroken a succession of organic life. It forms the living centre of the mightiest social organization of Christendom, except the Christian church itself; and I think there can be no doubt, after the outline given in the preceding pages, at least to any thoughtful Mason, that the keynote to much of our symbolism, and the true spirit of it all, are to be found in the traditions and meditations of the old searchers after "the lost word."

I am sure that the more thoroughly any one enters into the true import of their doctrines, even as imperfectly portrayed in the bare sketch to which I have confined myself, the more he will be able to comprehend the real truth and meaning of the work, the symbols, the ritual, and the teachings of Freemasonry.

I have thus traced, as fully as our space allowed, the history of the lost name, and the line of its traditions, from the remotest ages to the Reformation, where its history as a living thought becomes merged henceforth in that of the Masonic brotherhood.

It has not been my purpose to enter into any historical details outside this single line. All this has been effected so completely and satisfactorily in the body of the text by Fort, that it would be presumption to attempt any elaborate excursions into a field which he has reaped and gathered in so thoroughly.

Nor have I paused at every point to indicate the connection of

the various facts presented with the ritual and symbols of the Order. Most of these are so obvious as to need no special mention of the likeness.

The tenets of the Essenes, and the doctrines of Pythagoras and the cabala are especially suggestive.

Studied, as they all should be, in their relations to the Bible as the written word of God, and the traditions and teachings of the lodge, they will, I am sure, furnish matter of continually increasing interest and instruction to every thoughtful student of the Fraternity who may really desire more light.

I will here only refer to some of the more distinctive thoughts of their fundamental symbolism in reference to the Omnific word, which they regarded as the Divine representation of God himself.

This was, as we have seen, the central idea of all these mystic systems, and all their symbols were only different modes of teaching different aspects of this vital principle. The underlying thought of all these was, that the true divine word was God, in living power and presence; that it came forth from Him as light from light, as word and thought are one; that by it He made all things that were made, and when the universe was formed, this was the life and light of all that was created, the source whence all proceeded, and the strength by which all was sustained.

Hence, when the creation is regarded as *the result* of a *Divine geometric mechanism*, this was represented by a point within a circle, for from these all forms and figures of the universe must be derived.

When considered as the outgoing of a Divine power or word, and from the Ineffable, they had the י or the יהוה, with rays of light beaming out in every direction from this, or from its containing triangle, or from their source and sun.

This also indicated that the word of God, whether the written and revealed word—the Holy Bible—or the word as the living manifestation of the nature and power of the Deity,—that this word is the "first Great Light" of the universe, itself, at the same time, containing and sending forth light to all creation.

The triangle around the holy word conveyed also a significant representation of the Divine existing in a triune mode, as mysterious and unfathomable as the mystic name which was included by

its lines, and whose omnific power beamed out of the rays which shot forth in a dazzling circle all around; while the three burning tapers standing at the corners each signified some one of the modes in which God enlightens his moral or material universe — all standing round His holy word, giving light to and receiving light from it.

In the mystic three times three triangles, in which the sephiræ are grouped, or the corresponding three columns, with each their three sephiræ, of which the cabalistic man was formed, they showed that Wisdom, Beauty, and Strength were the divine attributes by which the universe (God's all-embracing temple) was first established, and the divine supports on which, as on unbending columns, so long as it endureth, it must stand.

I have not space, nor if I had would it be necessary, to follow out into detail the various points of interest which these old symbols, and especially in their relation to the lost word, may open up to the Masonic student. Those I have hinted at will be sufficient to make the others readily apparent to any one who really desires to trace them out. The history is, in itself, one of the most curious chapters in the records of human thought.

Whenever or however they may have become associated with the constitution of the societies of ancient builders, we have become the sole inheritors in modern times of all that now survives of these marvellous old traditions, and the symbols into which they had been so elaborately and thoughtfully wrought.

In addition, I am certain that any attempt to understand the principles of "Speculative Masonry," without some knowledge of the history of the doctrines which have been connected with the sacred name, will simply be waste effort, as the one rests on and is at every point interwoven with the other.

While, however, indispensable to the understanding of the real teachings of the Masonic order, yet the study of the lost word should not be confined to them alone, for it is also a most wonderful and suggestive theme for the investigation of any one who seeks to know the records of the past, or comprehend anything of the spirit of some of the most keen and subtle thinkers of the buried ages. At the same time, it is so closely connected in many points with the Hebrew Scriptures, both in their interpretation and their

theology, that although little known, it is a most important subject to the Bible student, and one that will shed new light on much whose meaning can be only partially attained without such knowledge as its study can afford.

There is thus an intrinsic value and interest in these ancient speculations about the sacred name, and I can, with confidence, commend the history of the lost word, its substitute, and its symbols, as a matter of real interest and importance, not only to the Masonic brotherhood, but also to the historian, the antiquary, the philosopher, and the theologian.

B.

EDICTUM LIUTPRANDIS REGIS,

ANNO 729.[1]

Item Memoratorio de Mercedes Comacinorum, cc. CL., VIII., IX., XI. (Ex Monumentis Historiæ Patriae, p. 151 *et seq.*)

C. II. *De Muruo.*

SI vero murum fecerit qui usque ad pedem unum sit grossus, dupplicenter mercedes, et usque ad quinque pedes, subquinetur; et de ipso muro vadat per solidum unum pedes ducenti viginti quinque: si vero macinam mutaverit, det pedes centum octoginta in solidum unum, usque ad pedes quinque sursum, in longitudinem vero ter quinos per tremisse. Similiter et si murum dealbaverit, sexcenti pedes vadat per solidum unum.

Et si cum axes clauserit et opera gallica fecerit, mille quingenti pedes in solido vestito vadant. Et si arcum volserit, pedes duodecim vadat in solido uno.

Si vero materias capelaverit majores minores, capita viginti per tremisse; armaturas vero et brachiolas quinque ponantur pro uno materio.

C. III. *De Annonam Comacinorum.*

Tollat magistri annonam per tremisse uno segale modia tria, lardo libras decem, vino urna una, legumen sextaria quattor, sale sextario uno, et in mercedes suas repotet.

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[1] Merkel, *Die Geschichte des Longobordenrechts*, p. 18.

C. V. *De Caminata.*

Si magistros caminatam fecerit, tollat per una tremisse uno. Et si abietarii caucellas fecerit, per solidos uno vadat pedes duodecim. Si vero peuma fecerit, quantos pedes habent tantas siliquas lebant. Et si carolas fecerit cum gisso, det per tremisse carolas quattor: annonas ei non repotetur.

C.

REGLEMENTS SUR LES ARTS ET METIERS DE PARIS.

REDIGÉS AU XIII^e SIÈCLE,

PAR ETIENNE BOILEAU.

DES MAÇONS, DES TAILLEURS DE PIERRE, DES PLASTRIERS ET DES MORTELIERS.

IL puet maçon à Paris qui veut, pour tant que il sache le mestriere, et qu'il ocvre as us et aus coustumes un mestier qui tel sunt:

Nus ne puet avoir en leur mestier que j apprentis, et se il a apprentis, il ne puet prendre à mains de vj ans de service; mès a plus de service le puetril bien prendre et à argent, se avoir le puet. Et se il le prenoit à mains de vj ans, il est à xxs de par d'amende, à paier à la chapèle monseign — Saint Blesve, se ce n' estoient ses filz tant seulement nez de loial mariage.

Li Maçon puent bien prendre j autre apprentiz si tost come li autre aura acompli v ans, à quelque terme que il enst le premier aprentis prins.

Li Rois qui ore est, cui Deux donist bone vie, a doné là mestrise des maçons à mestre Guill de Saint-Pater Sant come il li plaira. Lequel mestre Guill^e, jura à Paris es loges du Palès pardevant dis que il le mestier desus dit garderoit bien et loiáument à son povir ausi pour le poure come pour le riche, et pour le foible come pour le fort, tant come il plairoit au Roy que il gardast le mestier

devant dit, et puis celui mestre Guill^e fist la forme du serement devant dit pardevant le prevost de Paris en Chastelet.

Li mortilier et li plastrier sont de la miesme condicion et du miesme establisements des maçons en toutes choses.

Li mestres qui garde le mestrier des maçons, des morteliers et des plastriers de Paris de par le Roy, puet avoir ij aprentis tant seulement en la mauriere desus dit, et se il en avoit plus des apprentis, il amenderoit en la manière desus devisée.

Les maçons, les morteliers et les plastriers puet avoir tant aides et vallis à leur mestrier come il leur plaist, pour tant que il ne monestrent à nul de ens nul point de leur mestrier.

Tuit li maçon, tuit le mortelier, tuit li plastrier doivent jurer seur sains que il le mestier devant dit garderont et feront bien et loiaument, chascun endroit soi, et que se il scevent que nul il mesprengne en aucune chose, quil ne face selonc les us et les coustumes del mester devant dit, que il le feront à savoir au mestre toutes les fois que il le sauront, et par leur serement.

Li mestres à cui li apprentis ait fet et par accompli son terme, doit venir pardevant le mestre du mestrier, et tesmoigner que son apprentis a fait son terme bien et loiaument; et lois li mestres qui garde le mestier doit fère jurer à l'aprentis seur sains que il se contendra aus us et as coustumes du mestier bien et lëaument.

Nus ne puet ouvrer el mestier devant diz, puis none sonée à Nostre-Dame en charnage et en quaresme au sémedi, puis que vespres soient chanties à Nostre-Dame, se ce nèst à une arche on à un degré fermer, on á une huisserie faire fermant assise seur rue. Et se auncun ouvroit puis les eures devant dites, fors es œuvraignes desus devisés on à besoing, il paieroit iiij den. d'amende au mestre qui garde le mestier, et en puet prendre li mestre les ostieuz at cetui qui seroit reprins par l'amende.

Li mortelier et li plastrier sont en la juridicion au mestre qui garde le mestrier devant dit de par le Roy.

Se nus plastiers envoioit plastre pour metre en oevre chiés aucun hom, li maçon qui oevre à celui à cui en envoit le plastre doit prendre garde par son serement que la mesure del plastre soit bone et loiax; et se il en est en soupeçon de la mesure, il doit le plastre mesurer ou faire mesurer devant lui. Et se il treuve que la mesure ne soit bone, li plastrier en paiera vs, d'amende; c'est à savoir à la

chapele Saint-Bleive devant dite ijs., au mestre que garde le mestre ijs., et à celui qui le plastre aura mesuré xj den. Et cil á qui le plastre aura este livré, rabastera de chascune asneé que il aura eue en céla ouvrage autant come on aura trouvé en céle qui'il aura este mesurée de rechief; mès j sac tant seulement ne puet on pas mesurer.

Nus ne puet estre plastrier à Paris se il ne paie vs, de Paris, au mestre qui garde le mestier de par le Roy; et quant il a paiè les vs., il doit jurer sur sains que il ne metra rien avec le plastre fors du plastre, et que il levirra bone mesure et loial.

Se li plastrier met avec son plastre autre chase que il ne doive, il est à vs., d'amende, à paier au mestre, toutes les fois qui'l en est reprins. Et se li plastrier en est coustumiers, ne ne s'en voille amender ne chastoier, li mestres li puet deffendre le mestier: et se li plastier ne veut lessier le mestrier pour le mestre, le mestre le doit faire savoir au prevost de Paris, et li prevoz doit celui plastrier faire forjurer le mestier devant dit.

Li mortèlier doivent jurer devant le mestre du mestier, et par devant autres prudeshomes du mestier, qu'il ne feront nul mortier fors que de bon liois et se il le feit d'autre pierre, ou li mortiers est de liois et est perciez au foire, il doit estre despeciez, et le doit amender au mestre du mestier de iiij den.

Li mortelier ne pueuent prendre leur apprentis à mains de vj ans de service et cent. s. de Paris pour euz aprendre.

Le mestre du mestier a la petite joustice e les amendes des maçons, des plastriers et des morteliers, et de leur aydes et de leur aprentis, tant come il pleura au Roy, si come des entrepresures de leurs mestriers, et de bateurs sanz sanc et de clameur de propriété.

Se ancun des mestiers devant diz est adjournes devant le mestre qui garde le mestier, se il est defaillans, il est à iiij den, d'amende à paier au mestre; et se il vient à son jour, et il cognoît, il doit gagier; et se il ne paie dedenz les nuiz, il est à iiij den d'amende à paier au mestre; et se il nie, et il a tort, il est à iiij den, a paier au mestre.

Le mestre qui garde le mestier ne puet lever que une amende de une querèle; et se cil qui d'amende a fait est si eroides et si foz que il ne voille obeir au commendement (sic) le mestre, ou s'amende paier, le mestre li puet deffendre le mestier.

Se aucun du mestier devant dit à cui le mestier soit deffendeez de par le mestre, ovre puis la deffense le mestre, le mestre li puet oster ses ostiz, et tenier — les tant que il soit paie de s'amende ; et se cil li voloit efforcier, le mestre le devoit faire savoir au prevost de Paris, et le prevost de Paris li devroit abatre la force.

Les maçons et les plastriers doivent le gueit et la taille et les autres redevances que li autre bourgois de Paris doivent au Roy.

Li mortelliers sont quite du gueit, et tout taileur de pierre, très la tans Charles Martel, si come li preudome l'en oï dire de père à fils.

Le mestre qui garde le mestier de par lou Roy est quite du gueit pour le service que il li feit de garder sou mestier.

Cil qui out lx ans passé, ne cil à qui sa fame gist, tant come èle gé, ne doivent point de gueit ; mès il le doivent faire savoir à celi qui le gueit garde de par le Roi.

D.

THE MANUSCRIPT OF HENRY VI.

CERTAYNE Questyons, wyth Awnswers to the same, concernynge the Mystery of Maçonrye; Wryttenne by the Hande of Kinge Henrye, the Sixthe of the Name, and faythfullye copyed by me, Johan Leylande, Antiquarius, by the Commaunde of his Highnesse.

They be as followethe:

Q. What mote ytt be?

A. Ytt beeth the skylle of nature, the understondynge of the myghte that ys hereynne, and its sondrye werckynges; sonderlyche, the skylle of rectenyngs, of waightes, and metynges, and the treu manere of façonnynge all thynges for manne's use, headlye, dwellynges, and buyldynges of alle kindes, and alle odher thynges that make gudde to manne.

Q. Where dyd ytt begynne?

A. Ytt dyd begynne with the ffyrste menne yn the este, which were before the ffyrste manne of the weste, and comynge westlye, ytt hathe brought herwythe alle comfortes to the wylde and comfortlesse.

Q. Who did brynge ytt westlye?

A. The Venetians, whoo, beynge grate merchaundes, comed ffyrste ffromme the este ynn Venetia, ffor the commodytye of marchaundysynge beithe caste and weste, by the Redde and Myddelonde sees.

Q. Howe commede ytt yn Engelonde?

A. Peter Gower, a Grecian, journeyedde ffor kunnynge yn

Egypte, and yn Syria, and yn everyche land whereas the Venetians hadde plauntedde Maçonrye, and wynnage entraunce yn al lodges of Maçonnes, he lerned muche, and retournedde and woned yn Grecia Magna wachsynge, and becommynge a myghtye wyseacre, and gratelyche renowned, and her he framed a grate lodge at Groton and maked manye Maçonnes, some whereoffe dyd journeye yn Fraunce, and maked manye Maçonnes, wherefromme, yn processe of tyme, the arte passed yn Englelonde.

Q. Do the Maçonnes descouer here artes unto odhers?

A. Peter Gower, whenne he journeyedde to lernne, was ffyrste made, and anonne techedde; evenne so shulde all odhers beyn recht. Natheless Maçonnes hauethe alweys yn everyche tyme from tyme to tyme communicatedde to mankynde soche of her secrettes as generallyche myghte be usefulle; they haueth keped backe soche allein as shulde be harmfulle yff they commed yn euylle hanndes, oder soche as ne myghte be holpynge wythouten the techynges to be joynedde herwythe in the lodge, oder soche as do bynde the freres more stronglyche together, bey the proffyte, and commodytye commynge to the confrerie herfromme.

Q. Whatte artes haueth the Maçonnes techedde mankynde?

A. The arts agricultura, architectura, astronomia, geometria, numeres, musica, poesie, kymistrye, governmente, and relygyonne.

Q. Howe commethe Maçonnes more teachers than odher menne?

A. The hemselfe haueth allein in arte of fyndynge neue artes, whyche arte the ffyrste Maçonnes receaued from Godde; by the whyche they fyndethe whatte artes hem plesethe, and the treu way of techynge the same. Whatte odher menne doethe ffynde out, ys onelyche bey chaunce, and herefore but lytel I tro.

Q. Whatte dothe the Maçonnes concele and hyde?

A. They concelethe the art of ffyndynge neue artes and thatt ys for here own proffyte, and preise; they concelethe the art of kepynge secrettes, thatt soe the worlde mayeth nothinge concele from them. They concelethe the art of wunderwerckynge, and of fore sayinge thynges to comme, that so thay same artes may not be usedde of the wyckedde to an euylle end; they also concele the arte of chaunges, the wey of wynnynge the facultye of Abrac, the skylle of becommynge gude and parfyghte wythouten the holpynges of fere and hope; and the universelle longage of Maçonnes.

Q. Wylle he teche me thay same artes?

A. Ye shalle be techedde yff ye be werthye, and able to lerne.

Q. Dothe alle Maçonnes kunne more then odher menne?

A. Not so. Thay onlyche haueth recht, and occasyonne more then odher menne to kunne, butt many doeth fale yn capacity, and manye more doth want industrye, thatt ys pernecessarye for the gaynynge all kunnynge.

Q. Are Maçonnes gudder menne then odhers?

A. Some Maçonnes are not so vertuous as some odher menne; but, yn the moste parte, they be more gude then thay would be yf thay war not Maçonnes.

Q. Doth Maçonnes love eidher odher myghty lyas beeth sayde?

A. Yea verylyche, and yt may not odherwise be; for gude menne, and true, kennynge eidher odher to be soche, doeth always love the more as thay be more gude.

Here endethe the questyonnes and awnsweres.

E.

ORDNUNG DER STEINMETZEN VOM JAHRE 1462.

Von den Ersamen meistern, der Steinmetzen auff Irem Hantwerk, pallirer, vnnd von den gesellen auff dem Hantwerk. Alle Artigkel vnnd gesetz, als in dem Buch geschriben stehet, wie sich ein Itzlicher, in seinem Standt vnd wesen halten soll auf dem Hantwerck, Allhie zu Zwikau oder anderswoe in andern landen als in dem Buche hernach geschriben stehet alle Artigkel eigentlicher.

INN dem Namen dess Vatters, dess Sohns, dess heiligen Geistes.

Inn dem Namen dess Vatters, dess Sohns, dess heiligen Geists, In dem Namen der Gebenedeyeten Junckfraw Maria, vnnd inn der Ehre der viere gekronten Merterin, Wir werckmeister der Steinmetzen thun kundt. Allenn Fürsten vnnd Herrn, Stethen, Burgeren, vnnd auch Bauern in welchem stande er ist, Er sey geistlich oder weltlich, das die Etliche Werkmeister inn dem Oberland hab, one zu Regenspurgk vnnd zu Strasburgk zwene Tage gehabt, vnnd sie haben angesehen solichenn grossen Schaden vnd Vnordnunge der werke vnd verseumnisse, ist geschehen in allen landen von den werkmeistern, palliren vnd gesellen, desz haben sie one müh ein Buch der Ordnung vnnd Regirung inn dis Landt gesandt vnd vns darinnen vermanen, Auf die heilige eide, die wir Steinwerck gethan haben, soliche ordnunge auffzunemen vnd zu bestettigen, Inn diesem Lande nach gewonheit, als disz Buch Clerlich auszweist, das haben Wir Werkmeister inn allen diesen Landen zu Meydeburgk

vnd Halberstat Hildeszheim vnnd Mullburgk, Merseburgk, vnnd zu Meihssen, Voitlandt, Duringen, Hartzlandt, vnd das meyste Theel beyeinander gewest, odder die Pallirer von vnsern wegen gantz macht hatten vnnd auff zweye tagen gewest zu Torgau auff Bartholomey vnd auff Michahely, als man schreybet, Nach Christi vnsers lieben Herrn geburth Tausent Vierhundert vnnd in dem zwey vnnd sechzigisten Jare Haben wir die ordnunge dess Buchs vnnd Inhaldunge dess Lauts bestetiget vnd seinde dess gantz eins worden, vnd darzu zu den Heiligen geschworen.

Soliche Artigkel zu halden in allen landen, weyt vnnd breyt, sie seindt geistlich odder weltlich vnd haben das zu Richter vnnd Vbermeister gesetzt, ein solches zu Regiren vnnd zu halden Inwirden nach der lande gewonheit vnd noth, vnd seindt achte über alles die dis Steinwerk vnnd gebeude antrifft vnd nicht der lande vnnd der Stetten, antrifft vnd gerichts Busse es were den Sache das do Steinwerk antrifft, Noch soll man es mit laube thun der Herren, die do sindt Erben zu dem lande vnd zu den rechten helffen. Darumb haben wir etzliche Artigkel auff das Beste ausgezogen aus dem Buche, Das Buch sol In würden bleyben an solichen stetten, Das wir alle Jar hinlegen werden, do wir denn alle Jar was gebrochens in den landen, an den Bauenmeistern vnnd gesellen, ist das man sol rechtfertigen vnd hinlegen, Auch ob die Herrn der Stette, sie sindt geistlich odder weltlich, an Iren Beuden hetten, die fügen sich zu den Werkleutten, die zu obermeister gesatzt sindt, schreyben odder entbieten vnd hören ge der Gebrauch der gebeude, Do sollen die obermeister, die da zugehören vnd geschworen haben vnd gesetzt hinverpoten auff den Dag Jars, wen es were, vnd sie verhören, was der gebrauch ist, von des gebeudes wegen, das er den Herren schaden hat gethan, den schaden wider zu legen nach erkentnisse der Meystern, So kompt er nicht vnd veranthwortet sich nicht, so sol man In verwerfen, vnd alle ordnunge legen mit den gesellen, vnnd sol In niemandt für gutt haben noch halten, oder gut sein.

Auch haben wir vorgenannte meister, pallirer vnd gesellen aus dem buche gezogen vnd genomen Etzliche Stücke, die da not sein Allen obern Werckmeistern vnd gesellen auf das kürtzte, das das rechte Buch sol In ein bleyben vnd nicht gelesen werden den dess Jars, wen wir eine Beruffunge haben.

Auch wen es die Herrn nicht haben wollen, das sol man In es lassen, vnd was die Herrn nicht haben wollen, das soll man abthun von diesen Arthigkeln, vnd die Meister des landes sind derselben Artigkeln seindt sie nicht pflichtig zu halten vnd der eide alsz Inenhalt des Buchs der Ordnung, von diesen Artigkeln der nicht not ist, zu verkündigen was von gottesdinste, soll geschehen, vnd auch zu zeringe, das alhie nicht not ist zu schreiben etzlichen meistern, wissen das alles wol, die dis vormals gehört haben lassen.

Auch alle diese Artigkel sindt gemacht worden ausz dem Texte des alden Haubtenrechtes, das do haben gemacht die Heylîgen wirdigen gekrönten Mertern, genannt Claudius, Christorius, Singnificamus, der heiligen Dreyfaltigkeit vnd mariam der himlischen Königin zu lobe vnd zu ehre.

Alsz haben wir eine ordenunge vnd statute darauf gemacht mit der Hülffe Gottes.

Aber sol ytzlicher Meyster alle geltfasten lassen vier mesze halten.

Aber an Sant Petrus tage als er erhaben ward zu antiochia sol man auch vier messe lassen lesen.

Aber die erste messe von der heiligen Dreyfaltigkeit, die ander von vnser lieben Frauen, die dritte von den vier gekrönten Merteren, die virde vor alle die sollen die in der ordenung gestorben sindt, vnd vor alle die Hülffe vnd vnderm (unserm) Steinwerk thun.

Aber die andern meister sollen auch messe lassen halden, alle frauenfest, Eine vor alle die vorgenannten selen, das Gelt, do er lest messe darmit halten, dasselbig geldt sol er aus der Büchssen nemen, vnnd das vbrige gelt geben in die Hantbüchssen.

Aber zu gottesdinste soll Itzlicher Meister geben von igklichen werk es sey gros oder klein einen alden groschen alle Frauenfast.

Aber sol ein Itzlicher geselle soll geben alle wochen einen pfennig zu gottesdinste In die Büchssen.

Aber mehr, so sol kein Meister kein werk auffnehmen, er habe den das vor beweyst an der Erbeyt, das die Leute bewart werden.

Aber kumpt ein Meister von neues auff das er vor nicht Meysterey getriben hatt, der sol zwehn bewerte meister haben, die für In sprechen, das er dem werk mag vorstan, so sol man In auffnehmen.

Wo man aber Neue treffenliche gebeude wil von neues anheben, do sindt die Herren dess gebeudes einen Meyster zu nemen wen sie wollen, vnd sindt darzu verheyschen zween oder viehr werkmeister, vnd sollen sie fragen, von Irem eid, die sie der ordnunge gethan haben, Ob der Meyster das werk verfüren mag oder kan.

Dan nemen Herren vnd stete zu treffenlichen Wercken Imands auff, der werk vor nicht verheget hatt, nicht werkleutte darzu nemen, geschicht den Schaden darüber, die haben die Meyster vnd gesellen nicht vber zu richten, Noch dan nicht zu bussen.

Aber soll kein meister kein werck auffnemen, er könde denn das verhegen, were es sache, das es Ime misserite, die Herren der gebeude haben Ine zu weren, darumb vnd wir werkleutten. Das musz er verpussen mit ein vnd zwantzig pfunt wachs vnd dem Herrn den Schaden legen.

Aber ein Itzlicher soll sein Zeyt halden nach alt herkomen gewonheyt des landes, als er das bericht, so ist er losz, vnd thete es den nicht mit rathe noch komen des landes vnd des Hantwercks.

Aber das kein meister sol den lohn abprechen oder geringer machen.

Vnnd ein Itzlicher meister sol rechtfertig sein mit allen sachen. Er soll keinen palirer vnd gesellen noch Diener auff Boszheyt sterken oder auff etwas do schade von mochte kommen.

Ein Itzlicher Meyster soll seine Hüdtten frey halden als das darinne kein zweytracht geschehe, vnd soll die Hütten also frey halten als ein gerichtsstadt.

Aber kein Meyster sol in der Hütten ligen (lügen) vnd darinne kein vnzucht treyben.

Aber so soll kein meister keine vnzüchtige fraw lassen gehen In die Hütten, hat Imandt mit Ir was zu reden, so sol man von der werckstat geen, als man möchte gewerffen mit einem scholhamer von der werckstat.

Aber woe fremde meister hinden einkemen, die haben In zu bussen Itliches stück vor fünff pfunt wachs.

Aber die gesellen haben keinen Meister zu bussen, sondern sie ziehen vonn Im vnd verbiten andern gesellen die ordnung das niemandt bey Im stehe, so lange bisz er gebusset werde.

Welcher meister raubt stete oder an werksteten was neme, das Imandt schaden brócht, wo einer mordt todtschleger were vor echt

vorechter, den soll man ausz der Ordnunge des Hantwerks gantz verwerffen vnd In nirgent leiden.

Welcher meister einer den andern beredet vor gerichte odder liesz es thun, oder In vnernst auszthete oder an In spreche, der ist erlosz, vnd nicht gut keinem gesellen noch meister.

Ein Meyster soll seine Pallirer setzen, woe Meyster vnnd Pallirer bey einander sindt vnnd keinen setzen er könne es denn verhegen das die leute vnd er damit versorgt sein. Er soll In die Pallirschafft befehlen, vnd die eid strebe mit maszstabe vnnd winkelmas zu den Heyligen, die gebeude vnd dess Meisters schaden zu bewaren.

So soll kein Meyster seine Pallirer nicht vber die gesellen sein widerrecht.

Wenn ein meister einen Pallirer hat gesatzt, so sollen Im die gesellen geloben gehorsam zu sein als dem Meyster, vnd der Pallirer soll es meistern vnd gesellen verschenken.

Auch soll kein Meister von Pallirer oder gesellen handgeldt nemen umb vorderunge willen, vnd kein Lipnus nicht, den kan er sein lohn nicht verdinen, so soll man Im Vrlaub geben auff denn Sonnabent.

Kein meister soll keinen Diener auffnemen vmb kunstwillen, der vor sein Hantwerk verdient hatt vnd recht erworben, das stehet dem Meyster eine woche nicht zuuor.

Es soll ein Meister alle Wochen ein wirt setzen, der do auszgibt vnd berecht alle wochen dem neuen wirt, vnd soll Im anthworten, was Inn Büchssen ist.

Ein Meyster hat macht ob er lust hett zu Ruhen inn der Hütten zu Vesperzeit.

Vnd ob ein Meister oder geselle kemen die das Hantwerck oder die Kunst kunden vnd begert eines zeichens von einem Werkmeister, dem soll er seinen willen darumb machen, vnd zu gottesdienst geben, was Meyster vnd gesellen erkennen. Vnd soll das Zeichen zwiffelt verschenken Meystern vnd Gesellen.

Ein Meyster soll seinen Diener sein Zeichen nicht lenger vorhalten den xiiij Tag, Es were den sache das er dem Meister etliche Zeyt verseumet hette, do soll der Diener Im sein willen vor darumb machen, vnd das verschenken.

Ein Meister sol auch keinen aufsatz machen einem Diener sein

Zeichen zu verschenken, denn etzlichen geistlichen, denn er dazu bith für einen pfening semeln vor xv gr, ein Broten vor xv gr. Fleisch zwey stübichen weins, vnd soll nicht mehr bithen denn x gesellen, bith er darüber, so mag der Diener mer kauffen, so wirt der meister darinne nicht gefert.

Ein Meister sol schlahen drey schlege, ein Pallirer zwen einfort, einen wen man rügen sol morgen mittags abend nach dess landes Alter gewonheit.

Do mag in meister einem Diener, der do vmb Kunst dinet zu einem Pallirer setzen also fern er es verhegen kan, das die gebeude bewart sindt.

Do mag ein meister seinen Diener ein Zeichen verleihen in sein Lerjaren zu wandern, wenn der meister nicht förderunge hette das er In must lassen wandern.

Es soll kein meister seinen Diener kein Zeichen lassen verschenken, er habe den ausgedinet.

Es soll kein meister dem andern nachstellen vnd den Diener apspenigen bey der Wahr nach laute des Briffs.

Do solle auch kein meister keinenn fordern nicht der sich verschalket hat oder verkost hat, mit worten oder mit werken, er ist also argk als ein Hunt, In sol der meyster also wol erlosz legen als den gesellen.

Man soll auch keine meister vnd pallirer vor gutt halten der da aufporget vnd bleibt schuldig vnd hat nicht willen zu bezalen. Das man es an Im erkennet, so soll man in warnen vnd sagen, das er eins wille mache auff eine Zeit, thut er das nicht vnd thut mit dess willen nicht den er schuldig ist, so sol man In von aller Vorderunge verwerffen, er hett den deme seinen willen gemacht.

So soll auch kein meister den andern bewaschen oder beligen, oder nach seinen werk stein, es sey den sach, das einer dauon lieffe oder auffsagete oder Im erlaubete, oder Im darumb bethe, so thete er es one wan. Aber thut er die stücke also vorgesaget ist, so sollen In die andern meister verwerffen.

Hönnet oder schande ein meister dem andern thut mit worten oder mit werken, vnd man könde es auf In nicht bringen, so soll er verworfen werden von dem steinwerk.

Welich meister desz andern bau schent vnd er kan es selber nicht, den soll man verweysen.

Es soll auch kein meister keinen gesellen fördern, der den andern beleugt oder vnrecht thut vnd sich mit offenbarlichen frauen umbfürt, die die in den Herbergen oder in Heusern da sie Erbeyten, mit frawen oder mit meyden unzüchtiglichen zusprechen oder vnzucht darine treyben, der auch nicht beichtet, oder kein recht thut, den soll man verweysen, vnd vor einen vbeltheter halten.

Do mag ein meister ein gemeine recht halden in seiner Hütten vber seine eigene Gesellen, vnd soll auch recht richten vnd nicht nach hasse, nach feindtschafft nach freindschafft bey seinem eide.

Auch soll kein meister alein nicht richten was ehre vnd leumunt antriffe, sondern es sollen zusamen komen drey meister, die dan vber solche sachen richten sollen.

Auch soll ein Itzlicher Meister seine gesellen bey seinem eyde, alle vierteyl Jare fragen ob irgent Hasz oder neidt vnder In were das den gepeuden schaden möcht brengen, das soll ein meister berichten vnd hinlegen, welcher geselle das nicht thut, dem soll vrlaub gegeben werden, auff das kein Zwitracht vnder Ine sey, auff das ob die Herren oder Baumeister wider weren, da soll ein meister recht thun vnd unrecht lassen, auff das, das er sey eide bewaret.

So soll alle quatember von Herren oder Bauleuten vorheeren, obirgent gebruch were, ob sie Ire Zeit vorhinderten, topelten, spilten oder andere vnordentliche sachen triben, das pallirer vnd meister schaden mochte dauon komen, Das sollen sie dem Meister sagen, das er sie darumb straffe als recht ist, verschweigen ein solches die Herren vnd offenbarens dem meister nicht vnd haldens den gesellen zu gute, da ist der Mister nicht darumbe zu straffen, vnd wen ein Bauherre wuste es, vnd ein meister nit darumb straffet, so thut er seinem eide nicht genug.

Ob zu richten were vnder Meistern das orleumut antrifft oder werk wurden vertriben, oder falsch Ding machen, das schaden daraus mochte komen, das Jarwerke antreffe, oder grose gebeude, das soll man richten, wo das Buch der ordnunge liget vnd die meister alle Jar hinkomen auf den tagk als er ist vorberürt; So sindt die Meister einen oberrichter zu kiszen, vnd die Pallirer vnd gesellen sollen Schepffen kiszen zu dem Richter die sollen Richten nach Clag vnd anthwort auf die Eide, do sie auff vermant werden, ob sie sich in etzlichen sachen irgent erregten, so mögen dieselbigen

aber schidleute zu In ruffen, vnd sich besagen, das den Jedermeniglich recht geschihet.

Es mugen sich die Meister vnd gesellen selber vnder einander pussen, das In die Herren nicht einreden aus eide brechen nach redlichkeit zu bessten.

Ob die meister Imands hetten vnder In, es were meister vnd gesellen, vnd nicht In gehorsam wolden sein, vnd sich wider diese ordnunge setzen, do bithen wir alle Herren das niemandt auffnemen noch verteydigen nach vordringen, wirt er darüber wider recht wider uns verteydingt, so wissen wir wol nach lautte der ordnunge, wie wir vus darinne halden sollen.

So ein Meister oder geselle were, der sich selber wolt verteydigen wider recht, so soll man stette vnd Herren anruffen vnd In die Sache für legen vnd sie anruffen, das sie vnser recht helfen strecken do sind wir In würden gehorsam vnd sein denselbigen die vns zu rechte helffen, wen sie vnser begeren.

Also sindt die pallirer vnd halten das also das alt herkomen der Hüttenrecht nach Inhaldunge der alten gewonheit vnd nach dem Buch vnd ordnunge der eide.

Ein Itzlicher pallirer soll seinem meister seine Hütten bewaren vnd als er dazu geschworen hat, vnd alles das, das Ime die werckstat geantwortet wirdt, auch bewaren, vnd der gebeude gut halten.

Ein pallirer soll den gesellen gutten willen beweysen vnd sie gütlichen vnd weysame ane Zorn, was sie fragen. Er soll vber keinen gesellen noch Diener vber recht helfen, Er soll allweg Richtscheyt vnd Kolmasz, vnd alles was zu den gehört, recht fertigen, das kein felschunge nicht darinne sey, woe es der meister selber nicht recht fertigt oder zu mocht so geburt es dem pallirer, Als dick der meister in den Artigkeln Eins hinder Im keme do er solchs verseumete, so ist er dem Meister verfallen xij kr.

Der Pallirer soll dem gesellen vnd Diener williglichen stein fürlegen, abreissen, vnd wol besehen, ob er recht vnd wol gemacht ist, den gesellen, die es nicht verschuldt haben, woe der meister falsch Dingk fende, das etwas daran falsch were, das soll dem meister verbussen mit acht kr vnd der geselle mit vj kr.

Ob ein pallirer einen Stein verschlüge das er nicht tuchte, da soll er seinen lohn verliessen den er an dem stein verdinet hat vnd den stein bezalen, kompt er nicht zu nutze.

Welchē pallirer pusse vornemen von seumnisse wegen oder ander sache Bruch, vnd nicht minet vnd meldet, so sol er die Busse zwiefechtig geben die verwürkt hat derselbe.

Es soll kein pallirer seinen meister abdringen von seinem baw mit worten oder mit werken, Er soll In nicht mit falschen Worten hindernkosen alsz offt er das thut, so wirt er erlosz vnd nicht gut, vnd so sol auch kein meister noch die gesellen bey In nicht dulden, wer aber das einer bey Im stunde, der ist desselben gleichen auch Ehrlosz.

Ein pallirer sol zu rechter zeyt anszschlahen vnd sol es durch niemandes willen lassen.

Wenn ein meister nicht bey dem werk ist, oder von hinnen were, so hat der pallirer gantze vole macht zu thun oder zu lassen das recht ist vnd In Abschiede dess meisters.

Der pallirer sol dem gesellen vnd Dinern vnden auf die steine malen, wenn die gesellen vnd Diener haben das anschlahen verseumet, vnd nicht zu rechter Zeit komen, es sey am morgenbrott, nimpt er nicht die Busse, so sol er sie selber geben.

Der pallirer sol keinen Hader machen aber keinen darzu sterken, wider an Zeichen, noch In Werksteten, er soll alwegen Richt fridsam vnd rechtfertig sein, er soll die gesellen dazu halten, das sie irer stein vnd erbeyt warten, Es sey welcherley es sey, das den gebeuden vnd meistern nicht schaden dauon kommen. Die Busse stehet auff dem Meister, was er darumb zu schaden kumpt.

Es soll kein pallirer zustaten das man quos Zeche hilde in der Hütten vnder der Zeit, sondern in der Vesper Rue.

Er soll auch nicht gestaten, das man höher zere zu dem vesperbroth dem vmb einen pfenig, Es were den das man geschencke hätte, das ein wander geselle komen were, so hat der pallirer ein stunde macht freuehreen.

Ein pallirer hat macht zu fordern auff den nächsten lohn einen itzlichen wander gesellen, vnd macht vrlaub zu geben auff den lon abent, wen er einem Gebeuen oder meister nicht eben ist.

Er hat macht einen itzlichen Gesellen oder Diener zu erlauben eine bequemliche Zeyt ane schaden.

Ein itzlicher pallirer sol der erste sein des morgens vnd nach essens sein in der Hütten, wen man aufschleust, vnd der letzt herausz es sey zu mitag oder abendt, Das sich alle gesellen sindt

nach Im zu richten vnd dester eher komen sollen in die arbeit, Also dicke er seumnisse thut vnd der meister erfert es, was schaden dauon komme soll der pallirer den schaden legen.

Der pallirer sol alle freyheit der Hütten vnd werksteten helffen verthedigen.

Der pallirer soll auch kein gebew nach werckstеten bussen, nach überschlag machen, dann nach der alt herkomenden gewonheit mit dem lone, thut er anders, so ist er erlosz.

Err soll auch alle dingk der Werkstat behalden vnd zu rate halden also wol als der meister.

VON DER ORDNUNGE

DER GESELLEN, WIE SIE SICH HALDTEN SOLLEN.

Welcher geselle bithet forderung zu einem andern meister Ehe er vrlaub nimpt von dem Meister bey dem er steht, der sol geben ein pfunt wachs vnd soll vrlaub haben.

Welcher geselle mere trägt oder wascherey treibet zwischen dem meister oder ander leuten, dem soll man bussen mit einem halben wochenlohn.

Wer eines andern gezeug nimpt ane vrlaub, soll geben ij kr.

Welche gesellen maszbret vnrecht aufflegt, oder das breth lest ligen ee er habe gewert, het ane laube, oder abnimpt ehe der meister oder pallirer die bereytunge sehen, wer winkelmasse lest hangen an dem stein oder das richtscheyt die löcher haben, lest liegen vnd nicht auffhenget, oder den stein von der pank lest fallen, oder die haken ausz dem Helm fert oder bomret, oder sein mas lest anders den an der stat die dazu geordnet ist, were die fenster bey seiner Bank nicht zuthut, vor alle diese vorgeschribene Artigkel wer das thut, der soll geben iij kr allemal zu pusse.

Welcher geselle vbel spricht oder einer den andern ligen heiszt in schimpff oder in ernst oder in oppeliche wort fint in der werckstat, der soll geben xij kr zu busse.

Welcher gesell des andern spott, stochert, oder In namet mit hinderkosen, der soll xv kr geben zu busse.

Welcher geselle nicht hulfe bithet, seinen stein ausz oder ein zu wenden, brengen oder vmbzuwenden wen es not ist, oder sein Zeichen anschlecht ob er recht gemacht sey, aber es soll geschehen,

ehe man den stein besihet, das er in das Lager komt vngefraget, oder verdiget vngefinget, der soll geben zu busse ein halb pfunt wachs.

Welcher geselle sich vbertrincke oder vberisset vnd vndeut das man es erfert, der soll geben einen wochen lon vnd j pfundt wachs.

Welcher gesell hatt macht in werkstetten oder in Zechen, oder bey erbaren frauen rüchtigen frauen darein fürt oder schenket, den soll man vrlaub geben vnd denselbigen wochen lon, den er die selbige wochen verdinet hat behalten vnd in die büchsen legen.

Welcher geselle verschlecht hüttengelt, oder stilet oder mordet raubet, oder ander vner sitzt, und sich mit bösen frauen yn den landen umbfürth, vnd nicht peichtet vnd gotes rechte nicht thut, die sol man aus dem Hantwergk verwerffen vnd Ewiglichen verweisen.

Welcher den andern schendet oder enleimut ehre redet, der soll es verbessern nach erkentnisse meister vnd gesellen, wen er es nicht könde dazu bringen.

Wer dem andern was zusagt vnd kunde es nicht zu im bringen, den soll man also hertiglich straffen, das er weysz, was er ein andermal redet, bringet er es zu was denn die gesellen erkennen, vnd was die sache ist, Darnach sol man richten vnd keinen gesellen verkieszen vmb neides willen.

Do sol kein geselle die Diener vorhomuten, er sol es dem meister clagen was Im der Diener getan hat, der soll in darumb straffen.

Da soll kein pallirer noch geselle noch Diener selber richter sein, wo sie das nicht thun, so sindt sie buszwirdig was in der meister zusaget, vnd der meister soll richter sein vnd niemandt anders.

Es sollen sich die gesellen nicht vnder einander bussen hinder dem meister oder pallirer.

Es soll auch kein gesell bey keinen versprochen gesellen steinhauven, er habe sich den recht gefertigt auff dem tage des Jars den die meister haben.

Es soll auch kein gesell keine versprochen Fraw In die Hütten oder werkstett füren oder zihen wo meister bey einander sein, welcher das thut der soll geben iiij pfunt wachs.

Welcher geselle selber heilige tage machet in der wochen, wenn

er erbeten sol, dem sthat er nicht heilige vnd man sol Im nicht lernen.

Welcher geselle ist auszen wen er erbeiten sol, das man das Morgenbrot gegessen hat, dem sol man für mitage nicht lonen, bleibt er ausen den tagk vnd kompt auf das abentbrot, dem sol man den ganzen tag nicht lonen.

Welcher gesell am Sonntag vnd am grossen Fasten zu der hohe messe nicht mit seinem meister Ime selbst zu ehre in die Kirchen gehet vnd bleibt ausz ane laube der sol zu Gottesdinst iiij kr geben.

Welcher pallirer oder geselle am montag nach mitag wen es eins schlägt, nith bey seinem meister ist vnd halde ein Vesper Rue mit Im vnd verhöre, was er den Montag thun soll, der sol geben alle Zechen, setzet er sich darwider, so soll er vrlaub haben auff den Montag den vngehorsam bittet er laube das heftige mit antrit, so darf er nichts geben vnd ist losz.

Ein Itzlicher meister mag einem gesellen vrlaub geben von dem Baw wen es im götlich ist ane Zorn.

Ein Itzlicher gesell mag vrlaub nemen alle lohn Abent wen es Ime nicht gefellet do ist niemandt zu dem andern gebunden.

Welcher geselle bey einem meister einen winter stehen derselbige soll dem meister stehen bis auff Sanct Johannistag, wenn man die kron hanget, Es were den sach, das den gesellen hefftige sachen zu dem meister hette, das Im an seinem Hantwerk schatte, so mag er wol abzihen. Auch weis der geselle was vnredliches auff den meister vnd verschweiget das vnd truck sich den winter vnd auff den Sumer vnd neinet, der geselle thut das als ein treuloser vnd ist nicht gut keinen gesellen.

Es soll kein gesell libnis wider (weder) pallirer noch meister geben vmb erbeit willen, bey dem soll kein gesell stehen, er sey den gebust.

Es soll kein geselle den andrem künstlern vmb geldt ein itzlicher soll ein stück vmb das ander geben oder sol in damit ehren.

Kein geselle soll widersprechen were es an meister oder pallirer sich verheist.

Do soll kein geselle messer oder andere were bey Im tragen in werksteten oder in Zechen, den ein messer der halben elen lang sey, was es länger ist so soll er vij kr geben zu pusse vnd ist gleichwol ablegen.

Wo ein geselle nicht auszgedinet hat, welcher geselle sein Zeichen gekauft hat vnd nicht verdinet hat, wo ein mitler oder helfer auffsetzet vnd lernet sie stein hauen, bey dem soll niemandt stehen.

Do soll auch kein geselle seinem meister, oder pallirer hinderkosen, er wolde es denne bekennen das stehet bey dess meisters war.

Es sollen keine gesellen die Baumeistern berupffen oder vbel abrichten, do die gesellen williglichen thun was sie die Baumeister heiszen, wen der meister oder pallirer nicht bey der arbeyt seint. Sein sie aber dabey so sind sie da dem meister oder pallirer zu sagen, wie In note ist zu sagen.

Auch soll kein geselle dem Baumeister clagen vber einen andern gesellen, sondern den Werckmeister.

Es soll kein Baumeister sich keines haders vnder den gesellen zu berichtigen, sie würden den von dem meister darumb gebeten.

Da soll auch kein geselle stehen bey den die da Baumeister halden ane des meisters willen.

Welche gesellen die Baumeister zechen bey den soll auch kein geselle mer stehen.

Was Baumeistern gebricht oder den pallirer oder gesellen das sollen sie dem meister clagen vnd mit keinen zu hadern.

Auch soll (kein) pallirer oder geselle heimlich lone nemen hinder dem meister, ob an das die Baumeister bussen wolden, das stehet auff dem meister, wie er es mit den gesellen halden will.

Auch soll kein geselle mit dem andern auff das perfeten gehen sondern einer nach dem andern, das die werkstete nicht ledig stehen, oder einer soll den andern in die Hütten tragen, oder ij kr geben.

Da sol auch kein gesel was machen oder stein nemen zu etwas, oder aus der Hütten gehen ane laube des meisters, So stehet es auff dem meister, was er ist verfallen.

Wen ein geselle wandert, so sol er von dem meister in freundschaft vnd nicht im feindschafft von Im schiede wo er kumpt auff ein ander Hütten.

Kompt ein wander gesell Ee man ruhe anschlecht, der verdinet das tag lon. Ein Itzlich wander gesell, wen man Ime das geschenke auff saget, so sol er umbher gehen von einem zu dem andern vnd sol In der verdanken.

Das ist ein Grusz, wie ein Itzlicher geselle grüssen soll, wenn er von ersten zu der Hütte eingehet, so soll er also sprechen:

Gott grüsse euch, Gott weyse euch, Gott lone euch, euch Oebermeister erwiderung, Pallirer vnd euch hübschen gesellen, so sol In der meister oder pallirer danken, das er sieht welcher der oberst ist in der Hütten.

Do soll der geselle an denselbigen anheben vnd sol sprechen, der Meister, vnd nennt In bey namen, der enpeut euch seinen werden grusz, so sol der geselle umbhergehn von einem zu dem andern, Itzlichen freuntlich zu grüszen alsz er den obersten gegrüsset hat.

So sint Ime alle meister vnd pallirer vnd gesellen erberglichen schencken, wie die vorgeschriebene stücke von des grusses vnd geschenke wegen, nicht den sol man nicht vor gut halten, er sey den gebust vmb ein pfundt wachs, xxiiij kr.

Ein Itzlicher Geselle, wen er gedanket wil er förderung haben, so sol er den meister darumb bethen so sol In der meister fördern auff das nechste lohn vnd nit versagen, auff das der geselle Zerunge verdinet, hette der meister nicht mehr den das er alein stunde, der meister erledig gan vnd anfordern.

Ein Itzlicher wandergesell soll bithen vmb eine bücke, darnach vmb ein stük steins, darauf darnach vmb gezeugk, das sol man In williglichen leihen.

Ein Itzlicher Gesell soll die andern Gesellen alle bithen vnd kein sol es verhören, sie sollen alle helffen, Helffet mir auff oder In das euch Gott helffe, wen sie geholfen haben so soll er seinen Hut abethunn vnd soll In danken vnd sprechen, Gott danke dem meister vnd pallirer vnd den Erbarn gesellen.

Ob irgend einem gesellen was nott würde von Kranckheit wegen, das er nicht Zerung hette, dieweyl er lage krank, so soll man Ime aus der Büchsen helfen, wirdt er gesundt, so soll er's wider legen.

Ob irgend ein geselle auszzüge von der Ordnung wegen das das Hantwerk antrete, dem soll man auch die Zerunge legen ausz der Buchssen.

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+ control the Demoniac Powers
of the Unseen world, & the
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= The Operation of the
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